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# ***Daily Report***

# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

**FBIS-AFR-94-244  
Tuesday  
20 December 1994**

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# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-94-244

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NOTICE TO READERS: An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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## Cameroon

### Opposition Caught Off Guard With Constitutional Review

AB1512111394 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 0730  
GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In Cameroon President Paul Biya has taken the opposition unawares by directing that the Consultative Constitutional Review Committee [CCRC] begin deliberations today in Yaounde. On 6 November the 12th anniversary of his coming into power, Biya had announced that the CCRC would begin its sittings by the end of the year. The opposition therefore was expecting this review of the Constitution, but it says it has been taken unawares, as the news was announced only yesterday evening. From Yaounde, Jean Mater Ndi reports:

[Begin Ndi recording] On the opposition side there is total disappointment. Not only was it not involved in drawing up the agenda of the sittings, but furthermore some of its members were not selected to sit on the consultative committee. Worse still, those who were invited will only give their views, and no more, on the outline of the draft constitution submitted by the president of the Republic, who in turn is free to consider or reject such views.

Once more President Biya has caught the opposition on the hop, so much so that with only a few hours until the opening ceremony one cannot yet tell how the latter is going to react. Will it approach the issue as a common front or in disarray? At any rate, no one can tell with any degree of certainty, especially as voices are being raised here and there, and there is talk of a boycott.

However, whatever the stand taken by the various parties, one thing is certain: The review of the Constitution will be done with or without the opposition. The government seems to have taken every step to carry this through: Seven days of deliberations, no more, and the sittings will be conducted behind closed doors. [end recording]

Among the voices being raised already is that of Jean-Jacques Ekindi, chairman of the Progressive Movement and one of the leaders of the Front of Allies for Change. Here is his reaction, as recorded by Jean Mater Ndi:

[Begin Ekindi recording] I won't say I am not disappointed because you are talking of a debate, but this is no debate. Everything was organized in an extremely administrative and hierarchical manner. This famous consultative committee has been set up by decree. Its members are themselves appointed by decree. The chairman of the committee is selected by decree, just like the secretary, and all that fuss is to ensure that within exactly one week the famous consultative committee presents opinions on the draft constitution, prepared by Joseph Owona and others. So, one sees clearly that there

is no discussion, and I have the feeling that we are missing at this point a very great opportunity. [end recording]

### Opposition Boycotts Opening of Debate

AB1512194394 Paris AFP in French 1514 GMT 15 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Yaounde, 15 Dec (AFP)—Almost all the Cameroonian opposition leaders were absent today from the proceedings of the Constitutional Consultative Committee, opened by President Paul Biya, which marked the beginning of the "constitutional debate" promised by the head of state.

The opposition leaders absent from the ceremony did not say this afternoon if they were boycotting the debate or if they were simply prevented from attending owing to material problems. The setting up of the committee that will give its views on proposals for constitutional reform was announced the previous evening.

No list of the members of this committee, which will submit a report to the head of state before 22 December, was made public. Political leaders and "independent personalities," like Cardinal Christian Tumi, are expected to be members.

In his opening speech in the Yaounde Congress Palace, Mr. Biya stated that the aim of the constitutional debate is "to modernize our institutions, adapt them to changes that have taken place in our country since independence."

The Cameroonian opposition on several occasions called for such a debate in order to reform the Constitution which has not undergone any change since the restoration of multiparty politics in early 1990.

### Anglophone Position in Constitutional Debate Noted

LD1412192894 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 14 Dec 94

[Interview with Simon Munzu, spokesman for the Southern Cameroon Peoples Conference, by correspondent Muriel Pomponne, on 14 December; place not given—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Our guest today is Simon Munzu, the Cameroonian spokesman for the pressure group Southern Cameroon Peoples Conference, which militates for federalism. Today in Cameroon the constitutional debate is in full swing. Anglophones hope it will give them the chance to relaunch the federalism debate. Muriel Pomponne first of all asked Simon Munzu why his movement, which up to now was called the All Anglophone Cameroon Conference, had decided to change its name:



[Munzu] It isn't a matter of defending the English language or culture as such. It is a matter of upgrading a nation in terms of territory and people. [passage omitted]

[Pomponne] Today you are calling for federalism as a solution. Would it not have been possible to ask for better integration of the anglophone part of Cameroon within the country as a whole?

[Munzu] Yes, but better integration in this way in effect means strengthening the annexation and assimilation and so on.

[Pomponne] Better political integration, for example—taking into account the political elites of English-speaking Cameroon?

[Munzu] Except that, as you know, however much individuals from these elites are taken into account, that does not resolve the problem of the duality of our inheritance.

[Pomponne] So you are asking for federalism as a solution. Aren't you afraid that this could be an open door to the division of Cameroon, pure and simple?

[Munzu] Not at all. Just the opposite. I say this in full awareness of what is happening in other countries. Everywhere where conditions exist like those in Cameroon today, they have found themselves obliged to have recourse to federalism to save the country, to prevent division of the country. [passage omitted]

[Pomponne] The constitutional debate in Cameroon is under way at this moment. Some time ago you almost gave an ultimatum to the authorities, telling them to come up with their thoughts on this question of federalism within a reasonable time. Are we still within this reasonable time limit?

[Munzu] Yes, we are still within a reasonable time limit. Unfortunately, a reasonable time limit in the Cameroon context has to be long, for the simple reason that the authorities we are dealing with never listen to anyone, and never reply to anyone, etc.

[Pomponne] If what you consider a reasonable time limit was exceeded, what would you do?

[Munzu] We said very clearly in the Bamenda Proclamation that if the reasonable time limit is exceeded, and the authorities do nothing, the Southern Cameroon [preceding two words in English] would regard itself as having the right to pass on to a new stage in its demands.

[Pomponne] Meaning?

[Munzu] Meaning, in fact to contemplate the separation of the two Cameroon's.

[Pomponne] Demand independence?

[Munzu] Yes, indeed. I continue to say that this is not what we want. This is not what our demands are tending toward, because we are not challenging the unification of our country in 1961. So if we end up there, it will be the regime of Mr. Biya which will certainly be responsible.

### Mandela Assesses 'Epoch-Making Year'

MS1912161694 London THE OBSERVER in English  
18 Dec 94 p 14

[Report on interview with President Nelson Mandela by Phillip van Niekerk in the Pretoria Mansion; date not given]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Early this year, when fears of an uprising by the white Right against South Africa's transition to majority rule were growing, Nelson Mandela sought out the most unlikely of allies.

He flew to the retirement retreat of former President P. W. Botha, the strongman whose government rendered South Africa a virtual police state in the Eighties, and asked him for his support. Mandela wanted him to use his influence to persuade the right-wing to stop planning violence and join in the building of the new South Africa.

Amazingly enough, Mandela said last week, Botha agreed and said he would help to organise a summit of Afrikaner leaders to urge them to support a democratic South Africa. But it fell through, according to Mandela, because of the hostility of F.W. de Klerk, then President, towards Botha.

In a wide-ranging interview last week with The Observer, Mandela reviewed what he called an 'epoch-making year'. Mandela is now President of South Africa but, only 10 months ago, it looked like the entire election might have to be abandoned in the face of threats of violence from the Right.

It is a measure of the man that he, who was jailed for 27 years by a succession of Afrikaner governments, responded to this threat by trying to win the co-operation of his erstwhile enemies. It is perhaps a measure of the enemies that the plan was frustrated by their enmity towards each other.

'There was a serious threat of a national disaster in the form of a civil war, from the right-wing and elements in the security forces... but by assuring the white people that they have nothing to fear from an African National Congress government, we were able to create an environment where this transition took place smoothly.'

Mandela said he travelled to see Botha—living in obscurity at the Cape resort known as the Wilderness—to tell him that he had 'an obligation to speak to the right-wing to join us in building the new South Africa'.

Botha suggested that Mandela bring together all the Afrikaner leaders, though he balked at Mandela's request that they include Eugene Terre Blanche, the leader of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. 'I then came back and spoke to these leaders. My problem was De Klerk. He just wouldn't co-operate. He was emotionally opposed to P.W. Botha intervening.'

Mandela credits this meeting with Botha as a turning point in convincing Afrikaner leaders that he 'was trying to bring about peace in our country'.

General Constand Viljoen, who split the right-wing by leading his Freedom Front into the elections, confirmed the story. He said Botha, who had urged whites to vote against De Klerk's reforms in the 1992 referendum, had been impressed by the lengths Mandela had gone to include him. Viljoen confirmed that he and other right-wing leaders were in contact with Botha throughout that period.

The interview began stiffly as we seated ourselves in floral armchairs in an ornately-appointed room in The Presidency, the Pretoria mansion that has been the traditional home of South African presidents. After he assumed office, Mandela slept five nights here, but found it too cold and impersonal. His official residence is Libertas—renamed Mahlab'andlovu—but he spends most nights at his family home in the northern Johannesburg suburb of Houghton.

On Monday night, he appeared on a Johannesburg talk radio show. At the beginning of the programme, he said that he preferred to be called by his Thembu clan name, Madiba, because 'then you are talking to my heart'. The callers—many of them white suburbanites—complied, and the chemistry worked. Madiba stayed for half an hour longer than scheduled.

After seven months in office, Nelson Mandela exudes self-confidence. If anything, he is pushing himself too hard.

The ANC is meeting in Bloemfontein this weekend, where rumblings that too much energy has been expended on reconciliation and too little on delivering benefits to the black majority will be vigorously aired.

'I don't take seriously the complaints that we are spending more time on whites because that is not the truth,' he said. 'But I fully appreciate the impatience of our people at the rate at which we are moving.' Mandela said the problems could not be remedied overnight and defended his government, saying that despite budgetary constraints, it had launched a free medical scheme for children under six and pregnant mothers. It would soon feed four million children and begin free primary education. It had also passed a Land Restitution Act enabling people removed from their land to claim it back.

He said the white community's response to change had been generally very positive: 'Even among the most conservative sections, our message of nation-building, of forgetting the past, was reaching their hearts.' He is determined, however, to proceed with the Truth Commission into atrocities of the apartheid era: 'Before reconciliation is applied, we must know what crimes were committed. It is impossible to forget the past if we don't know what each individual did'.

He said General Viljoen had suggested to him that the Truth Commission must not be allowed to victimise only subordinates. 'He felt the leaders of political parties in

government must also come forward and confess the sins they committed or authorised. I was impressed by this approach. I asked him to appear before the cabinet and address them. But De Klerk was not very co-operative.'

Mandela said that not all perpetrators would be given amnesty. He said it was 'entirely unlikely, that police Colonel Eugene De Kok, who is alleged to have orchestrated large-scale violence in black communities for which he faces more than 100 charges, would be given amnesty.'

Mandela's approval rating in all communities is high, as is his standing in the rest of the continent, but he has resisted calls to involve himself in the problems of Africa. 'I will assist in any efforts towards solving the problems of the continent as a whole, but it would be a mistake for me to get caught up in the problems of Africa and neglect the problems of my country.'

He rejected sending a peacekeeping force to Angola. 'The South African National Defence Force brings a baggage from the past. We are very cautious about going to countries which were invaded by the South African army. We can perform non-military services.'

Mandela foresees 'immense challenges' for the new year. The ethnic character of South African society cannot be easily changed. 'But whereas the National Party government used the different cultures to keep our people divided, we are using them to unite our people. That is why we have come forward with the concept of a rainbow nation. It is the type of work that is going to take years.'

#### ANC Conference Proceeds 'Predictably'

MB2012113694 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
20 Dec 94 p 8

[Report by Shaun Johnson, political correspondent]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The ANC conference lumbered predictably into mid-session letdown in the broiling heat of Bloemfontein yesterday. With the delegates quarantined in closed-door committees all day, and the predictable non-materialisation of successive promised press briefings, it was left to the journalists and security guards outside to visit their frustrations upon one another.

The mutual loathing between these two groups—a contempt for the other's kind which quite transcends barriers of ideology, and is virulent no matter which party's congress is under way—saw both sides mounting surprise attacks throughout the day. Objective observers would have been hard pressed to differentiate between the two, given the shared taste in fashion sunglasses.

Even before the sun was properly up, the ANC security men won an early victory, gleefully barring the media from entering the University of the Orange Free State's grounds, let alone getting near the conference centre. Stung by the insult—rabid dogs had a better chance than

journalists of talking their way through the roadblocks—the media appealed to higher authorities. At length, admission was granted, but churlishly, and insults were traded Without pause.

The cause, really, was exclusion. What mattered was what was happening inside the Callie Human Centre, and no one was telling the journalists or the security men what that was. Typically, waves of wild rumours washed through the waiting ones (passing the time, at least) before spending themselves on the sands of non-confirmation.

The ANC's 49th triennial national conference is a carefully orchestrated affair. It is planned around an early crashing of cymbals (Mandela's, Mbeki's and Ramaphosa's performances at the weekend), a long murmuring lull of soft violins (the two days of committeeing, electing and resolving we are now in the middle of), and a loud exclamatory drum roll to end things off tomorrow (the election results, the president's wrap-up and the national anthem). At least, that's the plan, and it appeared to be on track by yesterday.

With the grand policy questions pretty much settled on day one (if you are still holding your breath for a declaration that all white South Africans are to be deported, or the ANC is to adopt the teachings of Kim Il-sung, you can let go your nose now), what is left to be done is the formalisation into resolutions of the two-track policy outlined by Mandela, the election of the top office-bearers, voting for the national executive committee (NEC) and checking out of hotels.

There are some tricky areas on the way to the conference declaration (the civil service and MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe—Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] are obviously controversial issues) and there is disagreement over the voting procedures for the NEC, but these are hardly the stuff of seminal schisms of the sort that caused the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] to break away all those years ago. One doesn't wish to be rude, but it is true to say that the nation is not hanging on the precise outcome of the race for place number 57 on the ANC NEC.

And so we wait, grumbling in the baking heat. We amuse ourselves by noting small, human things. Like the young ANC delegate who has swapped his Mayibuye T-shirt for a Bon Jovi one. Like the loud and boisterous Western Cape representatives who have never before ventured beyond Sir Lowry's Pass.

And, if we're really honest with each other, we'll admit we're quite relieved that we don't actually have to sit through those worthy discussions.

#### Officers Elected; Regions Merged

MB1912205994 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2039  
GMT 19 Dec 94

[Report by Patrick Bulger]

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[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bloemfontein December 19 SAPA—Four senior African National Congress members, including President Nelson Mandela, were elected unopposed to the party's top executive posts on Monday [19 December], but bruising battles were looming for two of the other "top six" positions.

The 3,000 delegates attending the ANC's 49th national conference at the University of the Orange Free State in Bloemfontein unanimously re-elected Mr Mandela as ANC president. Deputy President Thabo Mbeki emerged as the most likely successor to Mr Mandela with his election unopposed as deputy president of the ANC, the position vacated by Walter Sisulu at the weekend. ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa, who delegates carried shoulder-high as the results were announced, retained his post unopposed. The ANC's chief whip in Parliament, Arnold Stofile, was elected unopposed as treasurer-general, the post occupied by the late Thomas Nkobi. Mr Stofile, who was tipped as a possible opponent to Mr Ramaphosa for the secretary-general's post, received strong backing from Eastern Cape delegates, some of whom wanted him to stand as secretary-general.

While the four posts were filled unopposed, a battle was looming for the post of party chairman vacated by Mr Mbeki. The frontrunner, KwaZulu Natal ANC Chairman Jacob Zuma, was facing a challenge from two cabinet ministers—Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting Minister Pallo Jordan and Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe. Mr Radebe came to the conference with the backing of the Southern Natal region of the ANC and Dr Jordan was backed by the ANC in the Western Cape.

A provision in the ANC's constitution that disallowed a provincial chairman from running for national office was changed during a closed session of the conference. Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal told a briefing. In terms of the new provision, an office holder must resign his provincial post if elected to a national post, a change that would allow Mr Zuma to take up the national post.

Another battle was looming for the position of deputy secretary general. Three women have been nominated—the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme co-ordinator Cheryl Carolus, Deputy Welfare Minister Sankie Nkondo and ANC Women's League official Thandi Modise. Ms Nkondo was considered the favourite for the post.

However, Prof Asmal also announced a post of executive secretary in the office of the secretary general was being created. This would allow at least one of the losers in the election battle to fill an important post at the centre of the ANC's executive structures. Ms Carolus was considered the favourite for the post if she lost the election race.

The results of the elections, which are being conducted by the independent mediation services of South Africa, will be made known on Tuesday morning. Elections are

also being conducted on Tuesday for 60 positions in the ANC's National Executive Committee.

A change to the ANC's constitution to convert the ANC's 14 regions into nine provinces was adopted. Each province sends two delegates to the National Executive Committee and the ANC Women's League and ANC Youth League send two delegates each.

Earlier on Monday Mr Mandela's initiative to present a list of National Executive Committee candidates to the conference for its approval was rejected. The initiative has been plagued by charges that it was undemocratic. A source said that while the list itself had been rejected, its attempt to make the National Executive Committee more representative of the provinces and minorities would succeed. About 200 people have been nominated for the National Executive Committee elections, the results of which will be announced on Wednesday.

As elections began on the third day of the five-day congress, Mr Mandela mingled and toyi-toyed [protest dance] with delegates.

#### **Jacob Zuma Elected Chairperson**

*MB2012081794 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0803  
GMT 20 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bloemfontein Dec 20 SAPA—KwaZulu/Natal African National Congress chairperson Jacob Zuma has been elected national chairperson of the ANC, it was announced at the ANC's 49th national conference on Tuesday [20 December].

The ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme head Cheryl Carolus was elected deputy secretary-general.

Mr Zuma won the three-way fight easily with about 1,600 votes against the minister of posts, telecommunications and broadcasting, Dr Pallo Jordan, with 255 votes and Public Works Minister Mr Jeff Radebe with 227 votes. Mr Zuma won the post vacated by ANC Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

Mr Mbeki was elected unopposed as deputy president on Monday to the post previously occupied by Walter Sisulu. President Nelson Mandela was elected unopposed as president, Cyril Ramaphosa retained his secretary-general post without opposition and the ANC's chief whip in parliament Rev Arnold Stofile was elected unopposed as treasurer-general, the post held by the late Thomas Nkobi.

In the race for deputy secretary-general, Ms Carolus, a Western Cape activist, won with about 1,400 votes and headed off a challenge from Deputy Welfare Minister Sankie Nkondo with 494 votes and ANC Women's League member Thandi Modise with 186 votes. Ms Carolus was carried shoulder high to the podium to join other elected officer-bearers.

Elections for 60 places on the ANC's National Executive Committee [NEC] were proceeding throughout Tuesday. Earlier, the delegates rejected a proposal from President Mandela to bring a composite list before the conference for its approval. Instead, about 200 people were nominated.

North-West Premier Popo Molefe told the conference that he and four other provincial premiers would not stand for election to the NEC as their government posts guaranteed them places on the executive body.

#### **Campaign Against Carolus Viewed**

*MB2012115794 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1118 GMT 20 Dec 94*

[Report by Patrick Bulger]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bloemfontein Dec 20 SAPA—African National Congress Reconstruction and Development Programme coordinator Ms Cheryl Carolus beat off an "Africanist" challenge to win the post of deputy secretary-general at the ANC's 49th national conference on Tuesday [20 December].

Ms Carolus, a former Western Cape activist, won 1,422 votes to beat off the leading "Africanist" candidate, Deputy Welfare Minister Sankie Nkondo, who picked up 494 votes.

Ms Nkondo lost the election in spite of the support she received from the ANC Youth League [ANCYL] and at least three ANC regions, including the powerful Eastern Cape block of delegates.

ANCYL President Lulu Johnson told a briefing on Tuesday that his organisation had backed Ms Nkondo for the post but had already given Ms Carolus its support now that she had won the poll.

"It's a known fact that we were never backing Ms Carolus for the post," Mr Johnson said.

Conference spokesman Jackson Mthembu denied suggestions that the ANCYL had engaged in a "racist" campaign to have Ms Nkondo elected.

As deputy to ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa, who is also chairman of the Constitutional Assembly, Ms Carolus will be a prominent ANC figure both in party affairs and in public.

It is understood that ANCYL delegates had argued that the prominent "front person" of the ANC should be a black African, in keeping with charges that Mr Ramaphosa had surrounded himself with whites and Indians.

The third contender for the post, ANC Women's League official Thandi Modise, came a poor third in the contest with 186 votes.

#### **SACP Urges ANC To Address Redistribution**

*MB1612191294 Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English 15-22 Dec 94 p 6*

[Commentary by South African Communist Party leader Jeremy Cronin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] At least three complex dynamics will be at play in the ANC's conference. The first, the leadership issue has, rather tediously, been the focus of considerable media attention.

Emerging out of three decades of illegality, the ANC has had to develop a working unity across several generations of leading cadres. The past 45 years have, after all, been punctured by sharp discontinuities, periods of deep retreat and of rapid advance.

This is reflected in the current leadership of the ANC. There are distinct generations: roughly the Mandela, the Mbeki and the Ramaphosa generations. These are leaderships thrown up by the hectic periods of struggle. There are also some gaps between them.

It would be surprising if there were not some differences in habit and outlook, generated by diverse political experiences. This diversity is a source of strength. But the diversity has also meant that, over the last four years, the ANC leadership has had to learn to find each other...and sometimes it hasn't. Much of what has featured, often superficially, in the press as personality battles, and as succession struggles, has its deeper roots in this objective reality.

A second dynamic concerns the place of an emergent South Africa in the world. It marks the return of an internal inquiry into the legacy of liberation movement ideology. Progressive Third World liberation movements, like the ANC, have been effected strategically no less than communist parties, by the rapid demise of the old two-bloc global system. The theory was that, post-independence, the liberation movement would be able to use state power and the existence of an alternative bloc, to achieve a relative delinking from the imperialist system. In this way it could hope to gain breathing space for national development. This was sometimes, and inaccurately, called the "non-capitalist" path.

We can debate the merits of this paradigm, but it would now be an academic debate. Clearly, we have to reconstruct and develop South Africa in a world as we find it, not how we might dream it to be. Does the ANC's historic anti-imperialism remain valid? Or are we now unproblematically, returning to that benign global picnic, the "family of nations"?

The acclaim our negotiated transition has received, and the domestic need for the Mandela magic among a number of failing Western leaders (Major, Mitterrand and Clinton), can easily lead to misperceptions in our ranks about current global realities. Perhaps President Nelson Mandela's recent frank characterisation of United States aid to our country ("peanuts"), and the present wobbles around the Rooivalk helicopter are the signs of something else.

But the most challenging dynamic, which maps itself partly on to the first, is the ANC coming to terms with its



own substantial electoral victory. Nice problem to have, you will say. True. But it is a complex challenge nonetheless.

Since the April elections, the ANC has found itself strung out across a series of institutions (governmental and parliamentary), at national, provincial and now increasingly at local levels. We are now confronted with the challenge of maintaining and deepening a common strategic sense of purpose across this wide terrain.

More seriously, we also have to find a balance between the ANC as the overwhelmingly dominant party of government, and the ANC as the movement and mouthpiece of the historically oppressed majority. Who can doubt that, if we threw enough matches about, we could ignite a Bosnia in our country? Reconciliation, reassurance, building a common sense of nationhood across deep divides, remains important responsibilities, and only the ANC can lead the way.

But we cannot also just mark time while we savour the post-April honeymoon. Real redistribution, real reconstruction, based on the needs and driven by the aspirations of the majority, have to happen. Otherwise the honeymoon will be engulfed by the all-round social, economic, ungovernable, and just plain moral crisis that still afflicts our country.

The ANC conference will be debating how to get the balance right between reconciliation and redistribution, between ruling party and movement. There are no neat formulae, just some general advice. The best I've heard comes from a grassroots activist who said it in three syncopated sentences, as he poked me in the chest: Don't rock it. Row it. With both oars, dammit.

#### **ANC Said To Have 'No Africanist Tendencies'**

*MB1912175994 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1715 GMT 19 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bloemfontein Dec 19 SAPA—There were no Africanist tendencies emerging in the African National Congress, ANC and South African Communist Party member Jeremy Cronin said on Monday. He was speaking after a meeting of the Commission on Strategy and Tactics at the ANC's 49th national conference in Bloemfontein. Mr Cronin told a press briefing the ANC had always been a non-racial organisation. Even at a time when it had an exclusively African membership it had strived for a non-racial society. He said, however, the main content of the liberation struggle was concerned with the black majority and African people in particular.

Referring to ANC Chairman Thabo Mbeki's strategy and tactics document, National Executive Committee member Mac Maharaj said the conference would not adopt it in its entirety, although resolutions would be passed incorporating some components of the document. Mr Maharaj said there had been very little time for ANC branches and its allied structures to discuss the

document before the conference. He added that the strategy and tactics document would not operate within time limits because this was only appropriate for particular programmes. Mr Maharaj noted the commission had yet to report to a plenary session of the conference.

#### **ANC-SANCO Tension Over Municipal Structures**

*MB1612151394 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 15 Dec 94 p 2*

[Report by Tim Cohen and Johannes Ngcobo]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Transformation is set to be the major theme of the ANC's 49th national conference, while the race for the top six leadership positions remains cloudy. [passage omitted]

Wilson Zwane reports that the SA [South African] National Civic Organisation (SANCO) wants the conference to ease tensions between the two organisations over representation on interim municipal structures.

Some SANCO officials say tensions arose when lists of candidates for positions on the interim structures were compiled. These tensions escalated this week when a SANCO official ran against a candidate endorsed by a caucus of the ANC alliance for a top position on the Greater Pretoria Transitional Metropolitan Council.

In the Northern Cape earlier this week, shots were exchanged between SANCO and ANC members.

In Fouriesburg in the [Orange] Free State, the launch of a local transitional council was postponed after ANC members protested to local government minister Mantsheng Motsumi that they were not represented on it.

Southern Free State SANCO general secretary John Makelelane said yesterday the ANC assumed it should lead the local government transformation.

PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] SANCO general secretary Linda Mngomezulu said his organisation was working on a document which would outline steps to strengthen the relationship between SANCO and the ANC. It would be released next month.

ANC national spokesman Jackson Mthembu could not be reached for comment.

#### **COSATU 'Harshly Critical' of ANC Economics**

*MB1812183394 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 18 Dec 94 p 4*

[Report by "parliamentary correspondent" Ray Hartley]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Like gunslingers in a B-grade western, they have been eyeing each other over the bar, exchanging cheroots, jokes and, finally, good-humoured insults. But they are fast reaching the point where they will have to step outside to settle their differences in the street.



As COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and the ANC-led government square up for a fight over the shape of the post-liberation economy, trade unionist Sam Shilowa this week laid his cards on the table in a paper harshly critical of the government's new economic thinking.

By the end of the crisply worded seven-page document, it is hard to point out any significant economic policy area—other than broad consensus on the need for the Reconstruction and Development Programme [RDP]—on which the union federation agrees with its allies in government.

Mr Shilowa used his paper to list government policy shifts and then shoot big holes in each one of them.

"We have received unsolicited advice to embark on wholesale privatisation, drop all tariff barriers, adopt a wage freeze and cut back on social spending.

"We have no problem debating any economic policy option put before the country with the genuine aim of finding solutions to our economic problems. But COSATU believes these are ideologically driven proposals which are not dictated in the first instance by the needs of the people of South Africa," he said.

At the centre of the economic tussle will be next year's Budget, which will establish the limits of public expenditure and determine government priorities.

Mr Shilowa made it plain that COSATU would do all it could to ensure an RDP oriented Budget as distinct from the "RDP fund" approach. Resource would have to be moved from unnecessary bureaucracy to the delivery of services, he said.

But Mr Shilowa's commitment to doing away with bureaucrats should not be confused with a desire to cut the size of the public service.

"We reject the current approach which seems to suggest that large cutbacks of personnel in and of itself is a desirable objective, and that a mathematical percentage-based formula can be used to achieve this," he said.

The formula referred to was the much-publicised cabinet decision announced by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to trim the public service over five years.

And, referring to Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel's tariff-reduction programme, Mr Shilowa said: "COSATU will oppose the current trend of dogmatic adherence to rapid, unplanned trade liberalisation and the lifting of protective tariffs."

Like the rest of the plans, Mr Manuel's policy was "ideologically driven", and, he said: "The push by some elements in government to implement tariffs which are even lower than the rates set out in GATT, without consultation, will be resisted by COSATU."

Mr Shilowa's statement followed a bruising show-down at COSATU's September congress this year during which Mr Manuel and former unionists-turned-government gurus Jay Naidoo and Alec Erwin lectured the federation on the need for tariff cuts.

A third area of looming confrontation is over privatisation. Government has already stated it will have to sell off certain of its assets to help finance the RDP.

Not so fast, said Mr Shilowa. The RDP was in fact in danger of being destroyed by the kind of economic thinking currently doing the rounds in Pretoria.

"Privatising parastatals and subjecting them to the laws of profit would have the effect of denying the poorest South Africans, the majority of our people, access to health, electricity, transport, communication and other services," he said.

Also in Mr Shilowa's sights was the Reserve Bank, an institution he described as reflecting "elements of the old Thatcherite bureaucracy and the large conglomerates".

"We want to destroy the myth that the Reserve Bank is somehow above society and operating as an 'independent' institution," he said.

Again the COSATU position stood in stark contrast to the ANC's commitment to an independent Reserve Bank.

COSATU has made a habit of following its tough statements with meek clarifications, but Mr Shilowa's paper was the clearest indication yet of a serious policy divergence between COSATU and the government.

And although neither has reached for their guns just yet, the banker, the general-store manager and the streetsweeper had better get out of the way when they do.

#### **De Klerk Reflects on 1994, Unity Government**

*MB1612173894 Johannesburg NEW NATION in English 15 Dec 94 p 2*

[Report by Zohra Mohamed]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Christmas, with its magical atmosphere and kindly spirit of Santa is here. For South Africa, it is even more important because it comes after a relatively successful historic democratic election.

NEW NATION approached a number of political party leaders to reflect on their organisation's achievements and disappointments in 1994.

Deputy President and leader of National Party (NP) FW de Klerk said: The undisputed highlight of the year was the culmination of a new democratic South Africa.

"There is no doubt that the peaceful transition will be remembered as one of the miracles of modern political history."

Speaking about the role played by the NP, De Klerk said the party proved its ability to influence the decisions of the cabinet and has made an undisputed impact on the economic policy of Government of National Unity (GNU).

He added that a good working relationship had been established within the government. The economic policy and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) were examples of the success of this relationship, he said.

Some of his disappointments included frustrations at the apparent inconsistency of the ANC in a number of issues.

"On some issues they break their word. The appointment of Chairpersons of Parliamentary Select Committees is a case in point.

"Simultaneously, I am deeply concerned about the delays in getting a proper anti-crime strategy off the ground and a tendency on the part of the ANC to bypass important provisions of the Bill of Rights. Their approach towards language rights, education and affirmative action are also cases in point.

"Lastly, I believe that the ANC should have taken a stronger lead in the management of labour unrest, given their special relationship with the most important labour unions".

Reflecting on the coming year, De Klerk stressed that the major objective of the NP would be to mobilise and extend its support base. "While working hard to ensure the success of the GNU in its efforts to create economic growth, and the dynamic implementation of the RDP, I will also lead the NP in effectively fulfilling the role of a dynamic but responsible opposition party.

"There are millions of South Africans reaching out to the balance, experience and values which the NP represents. We intend to bring them together".

As part of his Christmas message to the nation, De Klerk encouraged all South Africans to work together for a better life, real peace and prosperity. He added that this could only be ensured through hard work and by restoring a culture of learning, a culture of payment of our dues and the acceptance of responsibilities.

"Let us make the true spirit of Christmas—reconciliation through forgiveness and service through sacrifice—guiding lights of our nation".

Stating his New Year resolutions, on a lighter note, De Klerk said he didn't believe in "spurious New Year resolutions".

"The year 1995 confronts our nation with important challenges and offers wonderful opportunities. I am committed to play a constructive role as Deputy President and as leader of the National Party in all efforts aimed at a better life for all our people," he added.

### Assesses NP Influence on Government

MB1812180894 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 18 Dec 94 p 10

[Report by Edyth Bulbring]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A year ago, F W de Klerk ascended the world stage in Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace prize. The presidential jet, passing the Lufthansa aeroplane carrying Nelson Mandela from the same international event, bore home a man with a critical role to play in South Africa's future.

This week Mr de Klerk sat in former deputy foreign affairs minister Renier Schoeman's old office in the east wing of the Union Buildings. He has moved out of Libertas, his office in the Union building's west wing and has handed the presidential jet over to Mr Mandela.

Apart from a silly scene over being called "second deputy president" by "first deputy president" Thabo Mbeki's office, the former president has accepted the changes to his status with some dignity.

But as he spoke this week about his role in a government of national unity and his priorities for next year, the change to the man, who in the past spoke with such substance and purpose, was evident.

He takes a defensive stance on many issues and his emphatic pronouncements at times disguise warnings and threats.

Mr de Klerk's first priority for next year is to dispel the perception that the NP [National Party] is inactive.

He wants to convince voters that the NP has a clear programme of action on vital issues—that the party is "very much there, vying for support, intent to grow and become an even stronger party than we are at the moment".

Mr de Klerk's concern with partisan matters is understandable. Since the elections, the NP has grappled unhappily with the uneasy role it is expected to play as the junior member in government and at the same time as the largest opposition party.

This double act has seen the NP's independent profile muffled by the principle of cabinet joint decision making. At times the NP appears to be little more than a bad-tempered lapdog in the face of the ANC's policy initiatives.

People close to Mr de Klerk have said that he has lost his lust for politics. They say that after the final constitution is completed in 18 months, Mr de Klerk will withdraw from government, depart on a year-long lecture tour and make lots of money.

The history books will then close a chapter kindly on a man who has made his vision of reform come true, rather

than begin a less flattering account of a man who continued with a career in politics as a minor opposition leader.

Mr de Klerk says these stories are "way off the mark". He says he is not driven by personal ambition and, given good health and continued party support, he will continue to serve the NP beyond the next general election.

The NP will emerge from its January federal congress with clear policy positions on matters relating to government and will be taking a clear stance as a party, he says. He declines to give details.

The second priority Mr de Klerk mentions for next year concerns his position as deputy president within a government of national unity. He defines this role as working for compromises and promoting decisions which will ensure economic growth, thereby improving people's lives.

It's frequently asked whether it's necessary for the NP to continue in the government of national unity. The deal reached at the World Trade Centre came about because of the perceived influence the NP had over the public service and the security forces.

As this is no longer the case, what can the NP contribute towards governing the country and how much can it impact on government policy?

Mr de Klerk does not exaggerate the NP's role but neither does he minimise the effect he says the NP's absence from government would have.

"I am convinced that if we have to withdraw from the government of national unity the effect on business confidence inside and outside SA [South Africa] will be devastating," Mr de Klerk says.

He attributes the country's investment rating to the NP's presence in government and the public commitments he and Mr Mandela make. The NP's departure from a government of national unity would result in an "almost total drop-off in foreign investment," he says.

To the retort that new foreign investment has been noticeably absent since the election, Mr de Klerk responds animatedly "It's coming, it's coming, it's coming. It's happening and that international confidence and internal business confidence will be shaken so badly (if we pull out of the government) that any hope of a successful Reconstruction and Development Programme [RDP] over the next five years will fail."

Part of Mr de Klerk's defensiveness is linked to the role he has been playing abroad attempting to encourage foreign investment. He dismisses criticism that he has spent too much time abroad this year—he has travelled no more than other ministers, he says.

Apart from the role the NP plays in reassuring investors, Mr de Klerk says the NP has and will continue to impact on government policy.

But the RDP, which Mr de Klerk says is joint policy of the government of national unity, bears a striking resemblance to the ANC's policy document. The NP's power to influence the course of government from within appears limited. ANC initiatives opposed by the NP are, on the whole, pushed through with lip service to consensus decision making.

The NP has objected to several government decisions. The ones Mr de Klerk cites as important enough to criticise publicly are the proposed abolition of the death penalty, aspects of affirmative action and the exclusion of NP members as chairmen of parliamentary committees.

Rather than using power to enforce policy, the NP has considerable influence and opportunity to get results, Mr de Klerk says.

However, he says, he will not boast about NP successes in influencing policy for fear of upsetting the good working relationship in the government. One example he is prepared to mention is the amendments the NP made to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission bill—a concept the NP opposed from the outset.

"However vociferous and dynamic a typical opposition party can be in a Westminster-style of democracy it has no power in the sense of being effective in influencing and changing decisions by a majority party," he says.

Despite a strong lobby from within the NP which argues that the party should withdraw from the government and become a traditional opposition party, Mr de Klerk says he wants power sharing at an executive level to continue for five years after the next election.

He does not believe that the remaining four years is enough time to instill economic confidence. During his trips abroad, he says, the question most asked was what would happen if the NP was no longer part of the government.

The reason for this concern is that he represents an important constituency—"the backbone of society".

"My support base therefore represents a very important core of voters who need to be recognised as an indispensable influence and force in our society," he says.

Despite ANC opposition to continued executive power sharing beyond the next election, Mr de Klerk says he is confident he can achieve this during the writing of the final constitution.

The leverage—although Mr de Klerk says he prefers not to call it this—is the two-thirds majority required in the Constitutional Assembly for passing the new constitution, which no single party has.

The real leverage is the "essential truth" to his argument that a complex society like South Africa's needed a "win-win" approach to government, he says.



As Mr de Klerk takes his Christmas holiday at an "undisclosed venue outside of the country" he will undoubtedly be refining his arguments. They are likely to be vigorously debated in January by members of his party who have yet to be convinced of this "truth".

**NP Soweto Members Leave Party Over Treatment**  
*MB1912145194 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English*  
19 Dec 94 p 4

[Report by Claire Keeton]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Key National Party [NP] members in Soweto have decided to leave the party because they claim they have been neglected. They claim the party dumped them after it won a tiny percentage of the Soweto vote in the elections. Former Soweto councillors and NP members met in Power Park yesterday to vent their anger and lay the groundwork for a new organisation.

NP spokesman for the South-Western area Mr Michiel Lombard yesterday rejected allegations of poor treatment levelled against the party by the group. "They've spoken to me and I have tried everything to get them appointments," he said. "Now it seems they want to take the other road."

A high-profile NP campaigner for the elections, pensioner Mrs Molly Mndungwana, said: "I don't want to see anymore of the NP in Soweto. I want to kick the NP to the ground. They played the fool with us." She said the NP promised her R500 [rands] a month but failed to pay her after the elections. "We thought the NP had changed. It has not changed at all."

Mr Elias Kekana said the meeting was called to elect representatives for the interim period. He said the NP had expelled them from the party.

Former Soweto mayor Mr Edward Kunene said: "NP regional organiser Bongani Mngomezulu has been telling people ex-councillors have been fired, but we have not been informed. They are breaking up the NP, not us. We really sacrificed for the NP and went all out." He said they had not heard from the NP's Soweto MP David Chuenyane, whom Mndungwana accused of "not doing his job".

**PAC Leader Makwetu on Retaining Position**  
*MB1812202594 Johannesburg SABC CCV Television*  
Network in English 1730 GMT 18 Dec 94

[Interview with Pan-Africanist Congress leader Clarence Makwetu by SABC announcers Wandile Zote and Reggie Morobe in Broadcast Center in Mmabatho on the "Newsline" program—live]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Morobe] We are glad to have been joined in the studio from Mmabatho by the president of the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], who has just again retained his portfolio. Good evening and welcome Mr. President of the PAC.

[Makwetu] Good evening.

[Morobe] One would ask what is your feeling at this moment and what you deem to be the major task that you have to undergo?

[Makwetu] Well, there has been nothing unusual really because I have been in this game for some time now. Mine is merely to continue with the policies of the PAC or strategies to try and bring about change in our country.

[Zote] Talking about strategies Mr. Makwetu, what do you see as the immediate task facing the PAC leadership, particularly in view of the PAC's performance in the April elections?

[Makwetu] The main task really would be to rally the people, the African people, under the banner of African nationalism, create structures throughout the country so that in nearly every corner of our country we should be represented.

[Morobe] Now each and every corner of the country would be represented. Does that tie in with the statement in your report saying we must be preparing ourselves to assume power? Is it how you see yourself, to be going through that?

[Makwetu] We can't assume power until we have a majority and in order to have a majority we must be represented throughout the country.

[Zote] Can you go back a little bit, as I said in the insert there and sitting in congress throughout the last three days, there was a feeling that the past leadership of the PAC was partly to blame for the poor performance in the elections. Is that justified in your view?

[Makwetu] I always caution against apportioning blame to other people. We went there in order to investigate exactly who was to blame and after discussions we discovered that everybody in the party was to blame.

[Morobe] But wouldn't you take that as part of the leadership, to actually look at that in terms of the leadership, did eventually not do enough to have brought the PAC to (?beat) that opposition?

[Makwetu] Well it would not be correct really to lay the blame at the door of the leadership, not unless the leadership failed to guide the masses or to indicate what road to be followed. To quote an example, you don't expect Mandela, or De Klerk, or Gatsha Buthelezi to bring people into a meeting. What Mandela or the others do, they address people who are already mobilized by part and parcel of the party.

[Zote] Has the PAC learned any lessons from the elections in April and how will your approach be in the forthcoming elections, local government elections, in 1995?

[Makwetu] Well, not necessarily learning from what took place in April, learning from what took place in our congress here today because the manner in which I could watch delegates lobbying, canvassing, if they adopted the same attitude in April we would be in power today.

[Morobe] It's quite interesting you mention that but there's been also quite a strong lobbying against you within the congress. How will that affect you?

[Makwetu] Well that lobbying was democratic. Everybody had the right to do that. I have no problems whatsoever, but I never bothered myself about that, because to begin with when I became head of the organization I never even canvassed a single individual for that position, similarly throughout all these years I've been elected I have always made it a point to stay away from the people who want or don't want me to lead the party.

[Zote] One of the senior officials I spoke to during the congress said that one of the things you'll be looking at is a strategy in preparation for local government elections, will be to address bread and butter issues, issues that appeal to the people. Is that where you went wrong in the elections in April and can that situation be reversed to make yourselves relevant and easily understood by the masses of your people?

[Makwetu] The masses of the people understood what PAC stood for. What I am not sure is whether we covered enough ground for everybody to understand our message. We are for ... [changes thought] even in April or before April we were canvassing on the issues that you have been mentioning, on housing, jobs, education, etcetera, and the issue of the land. That is still the position of PAC. It has not changed whatsoever. What we need now, exactly, is each and every member of PAC to make it a point to do that job.

[Morobe] Some of those things are obviously incorporated or included within the RDP [Reconstruction and Development Program] program, and from your report at the opening you outlined that the PAC does support the RDP, but it feels it's not going to the extent where the PAC would like it to go. How far must the RDP go to satisfy the PAC?

[Makwetu] The PAC, as you have indicated, supports the objectives of the RDP, but what we are worried about is the implementation of those policies. I am saying this because to us the RDP is a big issue. It's an all-inclusive policy which could not be entrusted with a tiny ministry manned by only 40 people. We feel that this should have been handled by a council composed of nearly every segment of our community, for example, government people, environmentalists, educationists, big business, etcetera, grass roots organizations, farmers, (?peasants) etcetera. These people should be brought together, not only to sit down and talk but to research issues and by so saying I don't mean that we should create another

government. We should set up this structure but the structure should be answerable to the government of the day.

[Zote] Mr. Makwetu, has the PAC decided on its role, whether to remain a liberation movement or whether it's going to convert to a political party and how is that going to affect your position in Parliament?

[Makwetu] We went to Mmabatho hoping that that issue will be addressed but because of pressure of time we couldn't make it but it has been left now to the national executive to look into that matter.

[Zote] But what's your personal view on that?

[Makwetu] Well I don't think it would be wise now to tell the public what the PAC is going to do, not unless we have discussed it amongst ourselves first and make out a policy statement.

[Morobe] Mentioning about the public knowing, the treatment of the press during this congress, one should mention it was not one of the best. What is the president of the PAC, Mr. Makwetu's feeling about how the press was handled during the whole process?

[Makwetu] I am sorry to hear that. I am hearing it for the first time. When we opened congress the press was there and we addressed them and we even informed them that periodically they will be addressed. I saw the team set up to do that job taking them on various occasions to a room where we treated that as a press conference. I was not aware of any ill-treatment. We were aware of the fact that if it were possible we would have loved to have the press inside throughout but we felt therefore that it will be proper for them to be addressed now and again.

[Morobe] But since I brought that to you, what are you going to do?

[Makwetu] We definitely owe the press an apology and we will definitely have to investigate that and find out exactly what happened.

[Zote] Recent opinion polls show that the PAC, unlike other parties, has gained in support, I think it's 0.5 [percent], and how do you read the situation? Is this a foundation that the PAC can build on and how do you see that influencing your position in the next election?

[Makwetu] Well I'm not quite sure that that is the only occasion where this has been reflected. I have some information to the effect that if, for instance, we would be holding elections now, PAC would gain nothing less than 16 percent of the electorate. I'm not quite sure of that statement—which of course gives an impression that it is the PAC that is gaining while other parties are losing.

[Zote] To what can you attribute that?

[Makwetu] Well, I would attribute that to the failure of other parties delivering.

[Morobe] Now talking about delivering, obviously it's the government of national unity that has to do that, led by the ANC. Would you after six months say they are failing to deliver after inheriting what they have, you being part of the government of national unity? If you say failing are you not part of the failing of delivering?

[Makwetu] Well, as you have indicated we are not part of government of national unity really [sentence as heard]. There are only three parties who are part of that but I would say that, if for instance, they are failing it is for PAC to try and grab whatever they are failing to grasp and we are hoping that in the final analysis we will be in a position to show the people that this is what we told you. In fact, when these promises were made we in PAC knew that these people would not deliver. The day Parliament was opened in Cape Town in May this year the state president is on record as having said these programs will be implemented within the first hundred days. We are running for 300 days now.

[Zote] Mr. Makwetu there are about 55 PAC political prisoners still languishing in jail. Now with the question of amnesty still being discussed and the definition of political crime how far have you as the PAC gone in your discussions with government in trying to resolve this matter?

[Makwetu] We have met both the state president and the minister for justice, that is Dullah Omar, to look into this matter. They are looking into the matter and we are hoping, in fact we have even visited prisons where some of these chaps are being kept, and we are hoping that some time in the future that issue will be addressed.

[Zote] Is there light at the end of the tunnel?

[Makwetu] Well it's difficult to say there is a light at the end of the tunnel but they say hope springs eternal in the human breast so we are hoping.

[Morobe] Still on the matter of political prisoners, there has been some allegations or outcries that the PAC seems to be sympathetic toward some of the acts committed that could be classified as sheer criminal acts.

[Makwetu] Could you quote an example?

[Morobe] Well, quoting an example one would look into where people have been killed in the church and people saying the PAC has been sympathetic to that?

[Makwetu] To me it is always strange really that this issue of the church is always brought up because what is strange to me, although we don't condone the killing of innocent people, but the very people who were in church were carrying guns.

[Zote] Mr. Makwetu on that note we'll have to take a commercial break, but thanks very much for your time.

[Makwetu] Thank you.

### **Viljoen Says Self-Determination Still Priority**

*MB1912052394 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2216 GMT 18 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pietersburg Dec 18 SAPA—Freedom Front [FF] leader Gen Constand Viljoen on Monday [19 December] said self-determination for the Afrikaner would remain his party's main aim in 1995.

In a Christmas and New Year's message, he said a formula for peaceful co-existence with the rest of South Africa would have to be negotiated.

"Our aim is to develop the road of peace with the rest of South Africa to ensure a century of prosperity and tolerance. The foundation of that century is now being formulated," he said.

He added that the FF would strive towards political self-determination in a "territorial area of areas".

"We will also have to negotiate cultural self-determination on the local level for our Afrikaner communities to formulate peaceful grassroots co-existence with the rest of South Africa.

"Continued conflict benefits no-one," he added.

Gen Viljoen said the FF had offered an enormous and valued contribution towards the April elections to ensure a spirit of reconciliation between Afrikaners and other groups.

"We have walked this path with dignity. But a secure future, economic stability and true reconciliation can only be obtained by self-determination for the Afrikaner volk (people)."

He said 1995 was still unknown, but it did not require great vision to predict the continuation of the psychological and political degeneration of the Afrikaner's self respect.

Labour opportunities would be minimised which would result in increased poverty, while language and culture would be held in contempt.

"But 1995 also promises hope. We must stand up, consolidate and take on the future. We will have to work towards the reconstruction of our people. Especially our younger people must become entrepreneurs because our welfare is dependent on our contribution to the economic growth of South Africa.

"And in the end, our salvation is in the hands of God," Gen Viljoen said.

### **AWB Reportedly Ruins Afrikaner Homeland Plans**

*MB1612191194 Johannesburg NEW NATION in English 16 Dec 94 p 3*

[Report by Jimmy Seepe]



[FBIS Transcribed Text] Rightwing plans to unilaterally declare an independent Afrikaner homeland were so far advanced that an actual date for the announcement of the declaration had been set and plans had been worked out to draw on support from within the South African Defence Force (SADF).

Maps had been drawn up to cover 52 western Transvaal towns, including Pretoria and certain parts of the Orange Free State and northern Natal.

This emerged in interviews with key rightwing leaders this week, during which they spoke openly for the first time about their plans to announce a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in March, ahead of the April 27 elections.

But the plans fell apart when the rightwing was thrown into disarray after the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] (AWB) ill-planned foray into Bophuthatswana [Bop] to rescue Lucas Mangope's government.

However, the AWB has blamed General Constand Viljoen, leader of the Freedom Front, and Conservative Party [CP] leader, Ferdie Hartzenberg for the failure of the plans.

Fred Rundell, AWB spokesperson, told NEW NATION that his party was supposed to provide "soldiers" for certain parts of western Transvaal. He claimed Viljoen had promised to draw support from members of the SADF for the plan.

"Viljoen betrayed us and lied to every Afrikaner by not carrying out the task which was given to him," he said.

"Viljoen decided to join the election at a critical moment and left us in the wilderness," Rundell said.

Viljoen must explain whether he got involved with the rightwing on the instructions of the National Party [NP] or the African National Congress (ANC).

"I still want to know who sent Viljoen into the Afrikaner organisations," said Rundell. "It is clear from the activities of Viljoen that we were set up."

This week Viljoen rejected the AWB claims, saying "the plan was actually torpedoed by the AWB in many ways. The idea of declaring UDI was possible if one did not go around behaving in an unwise manner and it was possible to pull it off militarily."

The final straw which led to Viljoen pulling out of the UDI plan, was the Bop uprising, when the AWB tried to come to the aid of Mangope, former Bophuthatswana president.

"Virtually every case where they have been involved—the whole situation in Ventersdorp, the World Trade Centre and Bophuthatswana—wherever the AWB participated it turned out to be a mess and had the opposite effect of what we wanted to achieve," said Viljoen.

"That's the reason why I said I see no reason why I should work with the AWB anymore."

Viljoen said that during the planning stages he became increasingly concerned about the activities and conduct of the AWB which could jeopardise the plan.

"The AWB failed to co-operate with us and to accept military discipline which is crucial in any organised structure," he said. "They defied authority and have been disobedient. They have really caused a lot of harm to the Afrikaner people here and abroad."

He said he had come to realise that any plans for a Volkstaat [Afrikaner homeland] needed to be carried out in consultation and with the full co-operation of the rest of the country.

He was also concerned that the rightwing would not have been able to maintain UDI or hold on to areas which they declared as a Volkstaat.

He said the obsession of the AVF [Afrikaner Volksfront; Afrikaner National Front] and AWB with taking a military path to achieving the Volkstaat was cause for concern.

"One of the biggest problems of the Volkstaat as conceived by the AWB was that it was going to set it apart from the rest of the country," he said. "This is not the type of Volkstaat we have in mind".

Viljoen said he was convinced that he had taken the correct path to achieving self-determination for the Afrikaner. "We have gained valuable moral high ground which strengthens the demand for the Volkstaat."

Rundell said: "Viljoen got involved with us as though he was going to save the Afrikaners but was in fact trying to steer us away from our plans into the polling booth according to some plan hatched by the NP-ANC coalition."

"What happened in Bop does not have anything to do with his pulling out of the Volksfront. Viljoen lied to us. The AVF decided they would declare UDI and we would be there and we would bring our armies to protect the territories by force if it was necessary."

"The CP failed to produce what they promised and Viljoen went to the election and failed to bring part of the army as he had promised. We did our part but they did not do theirs."

#### Countries Owning Armscor Radio Equipment Listed

MB1512194494 Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English 15-22 Dec 94 p 8

[Report by Eddie Koch]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Armscor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] sold hi-tech "radio hopper" equipment to African states that enabled South African

military intelligence officers to monitor sensitive diplomatic and military messages passed on by the governments of these countries.

A top-secret document—which describes sales procedures for electronic warfare equipment—instructs Armscor agents to sell only special “B” versions of its renowned “hopper radio” to countries south of a line that ran “from the mouth of the Congo (River) to the port of Dar es Salaam”. This region falls within the range of the South African military’s radio interception stations.

According to a military electronics expert, the “B” editions of the “hopper” were equipped with computer circuits that would have allowed local military intelligence to detect when the radios were in use and to unscramble any messages that were passed along their security-protected frequencies.

“This means that those countries south of the line which purchased Armscor’s hopper radios have probably compromised their security,” says the expert. “They have effectively given the South African military an exclusive line into their secret communications.”

The document forms an appendix entitled “Policy and Procedures for the Marketing of Sensitive Telecommunications Equipment”, to the secret “Log 17” that was published in the WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN two weeks ago. The sections dealing with electronic warfare are possibly the most damaging to Armscor because it reveals which countries were able to buy the compromising “hoppers”.

Armscor’s lawyers tried to suppress publication of Log 17 on the grounds that this would have embarrassed countries that it had dealings with in the apartheid era. They also obtained a supreme court interdict against the Cameron Commission, which is investigating clandestine arms deals by Armscor, preventing the commission from publishing the document. The interdict was withdrawn after the WM&G published details from Log 17 anyway.

According to a list in the document, the countries that were eligible to receive “B” hopper radios from Armscor, and which fall within the eavesdropping range of South Africa’s Department of Military Intelligence, are: Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Lesotho. According to the document, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Angola were barred from receiving the sets.

Armscor’s radios are known to be the best form of secure communication on the battlefield and were sold all over the world. During the Falklands War in 1982, British intelligence operatives were unable to learn about the movements and defences of Argentina’s ground forces because the latter used the South African radios.

The document explains that the radios work by having two levels of security built into them. The first allows it

to hop quickly between frequencies at a rapid rate—thus its name. The frequencies are generated by computer chips which are built into the set.

Secondly, they have a “user’s code” that allows two radio sets communicating with each other to jump to the same frequencies at the same time. Thus any two sets using the same code and circuitry can communicate messages without fear of being intercepted.

“But the manufacturers have the advantage of knowing how the radio is constructed. This would enable local codebreakers to be able to detect when the set is being used, to record messages transmitted across the spectrum of radio frequencies used by the sets and then to decipher the contents of the message,” says the expert.

“This would have given South African intelligence agents a double advantage. They would have been able to monitor sensitive communications in these countries while other competing intelligence agencies—even those from the United States which used satellite lance—would have struggled to obtain the same information.”

The secret document stipulates that the Department of Military Intelligence, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and Armscor—along with the now defunct State Security Council—had to be consulted before any electronic warfare equipment was sold abroad.

It suggests that South Africa has a limited electronic warfare capacity. “This appears to have been intended to mislead Armscor’s salesmen. South Africa has a reputation for developing the most sophisticated eavesdropping systems in the southern hemisphere,” comments the expert.

The SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation], for example, used its Auckland Park transmitter to boost UNITA’s [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] radio station while jamming SWAPO in the 1980s. The army and navy were able to decoy enemy missiles with active “electronic warfare systems” that sent out bogus signals that mislead sensor heads in artillery shells. The technology was also able to detonate prematurely artillery equipped with electronic fuses.

“A private electronics company, which was subcontracted by Armscor to make the hopper radio, was also tasked with designing a network of transmission stations that could simulate bogus radio traffic and mislead foreign monitors into believing fake deployments of South African Defence Force troops and phantom units in unoccupied areas.”

Another major electronic warfare item—listed as being strictly not sale for in the document—was “radio detection finding equipment”. This technology allows operatives to detect the exact location of covert radio emissions and then to “slip into” the conversations on

these. It was believed local intelligence-gathering operations would have been undermined if this equipment got into the wrong hands.

#### **South African Press Review for 20 Dec**

*MB2012132494*

[Editorial Report]

#### **THE STAR**

**PAC President Reelection**—The reelection of Clarence Makwetu as president of the Pan-Africanist Congress, PAC, "will please those who fear that black chauvinism will thrive on the 'inevitable' disillusionment of black people in post-apartheid South Africa," remarks Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 20 December in a page 14 editorial. Theoretically the PAC is "poised to gain most if or when ANC rule fails to usher in a millenium of prosperity and happiness." However, under Makwetu, "the PAC is unlikely to be able to exploit these anticipated grievances." Also, "Makwetu's failure to restrain extremists in the PAC is hardly reassuring. The threatened demise of the PAC as a credible and disciplined political force is similarly inauspicious for our infant multiparty democracy. Moreover, Africanism, the assertion of the rights of black indigenes over their lighter skinned compatriots, will not die. There are already signs that it is a growing force within the ANC."

#### **SOWETAN**

**Surprise at PAC President Reelection**—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 20 December in a page 8

editorial is surprised by the reelection of Clarence Makwetu as PAC president. Makwetu "is being blamed for the organisation's poor showing in the elections." But he is "not the only one in the leadership who is a problem. To survive, the PAC will probably need a complete overhaul of its leadership and its strategies. Having said that, congratulations to Makwetu for sticking grimly to his guns. That, if nothing else, says he has an honourable commitment to duty."

#### **BUSINESS DAY**

**Affirmative Action in Public Service**—Government and the country's public servants "have been squaring up to each other for weeks over wages, housing privileges and rationalisation plans, and a damaging strike has seemed imminent," begins a page 4 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 20 December. Government has committed itself to joint strategies of rationalization and affirmative action over five years, "but ANC leaders impatient for transformation and claiming their reconstruction efforts are being frustrated by intransigent officialdom are pressing for an accelerated process." Faced with this threat, existing public servants are "fighting back and clinging determinedly to the provisions in the constitution which they say safeguard their jobs for the duration of the government of national unity." BUSINESS DAY points out that "a host of new and inexperienced officials in key jobs might satisfy hardliners in the party, but it will surely retard reconstruction strategies at least as much as they are being hindered now."



## Angola

### U.S. Security Adviser Lake Meets President

*MB1912202194 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 19 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. National Security Adviser Anthony Lake arrived in Luanda today as part of a tour of nine African countries. Immediately after his arrival, Anthony Lake went to Luanda's Futungo de Belas Palace to meet President of the Republic Jose Eduardo dos Santos and discuss the Angolan peace process.

The aircraft carrying Lake arrived in Luanda early this afternoon and he was welcomed by Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Jorge Chikoty and General Franca Ndalo, adviser to the president of the Republic. Lake held a brief meeting with those two Angolan officials.

The U.S. official was also granted an audience with the Angolan head of state, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, today. The meeting is expected to have focused on issues pertaining to the implementation of the Lusaka Accord and humanitarian aid. Anthony Lake is scheduled to visit the city of Kuito tomorrow.

He made no statements to the press at all today, but he is expected to grant a news conference before he winds up his visit.

### Comments on Foreign Mercenaries

*MB2012090694 London BBC World Service in English 0627 GMT 20 Dec 94*

[From the "African News" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The U.S. national security adviser, Anthony Lake, has called on both sides involved in the conflict in Angola to stop using foreign mercenaries. Mr. Lake, who is in Luanda for talks with the Angolan Government, UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], and UN officials, said the two sides should demonstrate their commitment to the peace accord they signed last month by matching words with deeds. The government and UNITA have accused each other of violating the agreement.

### Beye Meets President, Comments on U.S. Visit

*MB1912154694 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 19 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Alioune Blondin Beye, mediator in the Angolan peace process and chairman of the Joint Commission, returned to Luanda this morning after a 15-day visit to the United States, where he reported on the Angolan peace process to the UN Security Council. Shortly after his return, Beye went to the Futungo de Belas Palace to brief His Excellency Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the Republic, on his mission to the

United States. On his way out, after a one-hour meeting with Jose Eduardo dos Santos, we interviewed Alioune Blondin Beye.

[Begin recording] [Beye] As you are aware, I left for the United States for consultations with the UN secretary general and other personalities in Washington. During my stay in the United States, I held very useful talks with the UN secretary general, the UN Security Council, and U.S. officials.

At the present moment, I am very happy with the results of my visit to the United States because we were very well received by the UN Security Council. The UN Security Council no longer demands the total cessation of hostilities—that is, a complete cease-fire, before sending the first group of observers, who will begin to arrive today. Thus, the first phase of the peace process, which will last (several) months, will begin to be implemented. There are no longer demands from the UN Security Council.

During my visit, I was also able to hold discussions with officials from the UN secretariat and different elements of the UN Angola Verification Mission-3 [Unavem-3]. As you are aware, this is the second phase of the UN plan, which will begin on 8 February, if everything goes well.

As I said earlier, during my stay in the United States I was also able to hold talks with U.S. officials, which were very beneficial to the process.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Beye, the blue helmets will only arrive here in Angola on 8 February. General Lukamba Gato of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has already issued a protest against this late arrival, since incidents are still taking place in the country. What are the blue helmets [words indistinct] if they were waiting for effective peace. Do you not also think that this late arrival by the blue helmets can [words indistinct]?

[Beye] I must say that I too have expressed [words indistinct] before UNITA's Ambassador Gato. In the history of peace-keeping operations, this is the first time that UN observers arrive in a country one month after the signing of the accords. During this first phase, about 500 military and police observers will be deployed in the country to help build trust in the affected areas, and as I have already pointed out, they will begin to arrive today. Today is 19 December and tomorrow is 20 December. So, less than one month after the signing of the accord, we are receiving UN observers.

The blue helmets will begin to arrive in the country during the second phase. They will be deployed in the country in less than the normal three months. The main responsibility lies on the government and UNITA, however. It was the government and UNITA that pledged to respect the cease-fire. They must therefore comply with this pledge and not allow their forces to clash. Beginning

now, we have means to observe the party that does not respect the obligations. The presence of blue helmets in the second phase is aimed at guaranteeing the withdrawal and confinement of UNITA forces. It has nothing to do with the cease-fire.

[Correspondent] Mr. Beye, I would like to know what you have to say about UNITA demands that Portugal should cease to be an observer country.

[Beye] I have said on many occasions that I cannot talk to the government and UNITA through the press. In my capacity as the chairman of the Joint Commission, I have not received any communication from UNITA on this issue. I have heard of it only in the press. What is more, UNITA signed the Lusaka Protocol on 20 November. In that protocol, there is an article on the number and the composition of observers. I think, therefore, that there [words indistinct] for UNITA to denounce the Lusaka Protocol.

[Correspondent] Mr. Beye, you have now met with his excellency the president of the Republic. What were the main issues discussed during your meeting?

[Beye] First of all, I must thank his excellency the president of the Republic for having received me as soon as I landed here. I briefed the president on the results of my mission in the United States. The talks were centered on my report, as well as on our concern to ensure that the process continues to move on the right track.

[Correspondent] Do you also plan to meet UNITA leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi to brief him on your visit to the United States?

[Beye] That is part of my work. [end recording]

[Elsewhere in the same Luanda Radio newscast Beye is reported as saying that the Joint Commission will meet "within the next few days" but that the exact date was not yet known.]

### **Calls Violations 'Insignificant'**

*MB1912185494 London BBC World Service in Portuguese 1740 GMT 19 Dec 94*

[From the "African News" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] The UN special representative to Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, says he remains optimistic about the peace process, despite continuing reports of cease-fire violations in rural areas of the country. Mr. Beye was speaking on his return to Luanda after briefing the United Nations Security Council. He described the cease-fire violations as insignificant and said they would not prevent the deployment of a further 350 observers to monitor the peace accord signed last month by the government and its UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] opponents. The BBC correspondent in Luanda says, however, that only slow progress is being made in implementing the peace accord.

### **Visits Kuito**

*MB2012135094 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 20 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Anthony Lake, national security adviser to U.S. President Bill Clinton, is continuing his visit to our country. Lake went to the city of Kuito today. He was accompanied by Foreign Affairs Minister Venancio de Moura. The two men met with officials of the Bie Provincial Government to discuss the implementation of the Lusaka peace accord and the U.S. contribution toward peace in this country.

Lake is already back in Luanda. He is scheduled to give a news conference prior to leaving our country.

### **Wants Dynamic Commission Meetings**

*MB2012155694 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 20 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] UN Special Representative Alioune Blondin Beye wants to increase the dynamics of the proceedings of the Joint Commission responsible for overseeing the Lusaka Protocol's implementation. The UN secretary general's representative in Angola returned to Luanda yesterday from the United Nations. This morning he called the leaders of the government and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] teams for separate meetings.

Faustino Muteka and Eugenio Manuvakola [name as heard] were received separately at the UN special representative's house in Luanda. During the meetings, Blondin Beye briefed those officials on the results of his recent visit to the United States, where he informed UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali on the evolution of the Angolan peace process.

Meanwhile, a source in the UN Angola Verification Mission has disclosed that the meetings also focused on issues pertaining to the Joint Commission's internal regulations. The Joint Commission's next plenary meeting is expected to happen soon.

### **Government Said Intensifying War in Malanje**

*MB2012134594 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 1200 GMT 20 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation is characterized by war in Malanje Province. The Angolan Government has intensified its military actions in recent days in order to reoccupy all areas under the control of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] before the arrival of the UN peace-keeping forces.

According to correspondent Fernando Mbulica, the situation is more worrying in western Malanje Province where government forces are now trying to reoccupy Calandula District, after reoccupying Luembe Commune. Our correspondent also said that the Angolan Armed Forces attacked Catema Ward, 8 km from [words indistinct] on 18 December, having destroyed the ward



and killed 15 defenseless civilians, including the traditional chief of the ward accused of being UNITA representative at the ward.

### Lesotho

#### Foreign Ministers Discuss Border Tensions

MB2012130094 Maseru Radio Lesotho in English 1130 GMT 20 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Lesotho and South African foreign ministers have agreed on the need to find the speediest durable solution to the security problem created by the incidence of stock theft across the southern Lesotho/South Africa border.

This was the outcome of special talks held between the acting prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, the honorable Molapo Qhobela, and South Africa's foreign minister, the honorable Alfred Nzo, in Bloemfontein yesterday. A government spokesman said the purpose of the meeting was to enable the two ministers to discuss and exchange ideas on the latest developments on the security situation in the Qacha's Nek/Matatiele and Quthing/Mount Fletcher border areas following the cross-border incidents of stock theft. The government spokesman said the matter is of mutual concern to both countries.

The acting prime minister was at the head of an entourage of senior foreign affairs officials who included the principal secretary for foreign affairs, Miss Nthabiseng Monoko; Lesotho's high commissioner to South Africa, His Excellency Mr. Lincoln Mokose; and the directors of legal and political affairs in the Foreign Ministry.

### Mozambique

#### Domingos on Conditions for Return to Assembly

MB1912193694 Maputo TVM Television Network in Portuguese 1800 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The deputies of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] and the Democratic Union [UD, including the Mozambique Liberal and Democratic Party, the National Democratic Party, and the Mozambique National Party] have agreed to return to the Assembly of the Republic, but the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] says that all will hinge on tonight's meeting between Raul Domingos and Assembly Chairman Eduardo Mulembwe.

The Assembly of the Republic's Secretariat has already invited the deputies to the Assembly hall to resume the proceedings. It is known at this stage that the deputies of Frelimo and UD have already expressed a willingness to return to the Assembly.

We have just been able to interview with Renamo chief negotiator Raul Domingos, who also heads the Renamo

bench in the Assembly, and he will give us his party's latest views on its willingness to return to the Assembly hall.

[Begin recording] [Simeao Pongwane] Mr. Raul Domingos: I would like to know whether Renamo is willing to return to the Assembly so the proceedings can resume.

[Domingos] Well, there are still some pending issues that we must overcome before we can resume the proceedings. To that end, we met Dr. Mulembwe this morning and we will meet him again this afternoon. I believe the meeting will be called only after we have come to a final agreement on what the session will entail. When that happens, we will be able to participate.

[Pongwane] Could you list the issues that are still pending?

[Domingos] Well, it is the issue of the vote. It is a fundamental issue. As you know, we withdrew because we did not agree with the voting method. We thought of proposing a temporary modality concerning the voting method, and we would like it to be accepted. Should that proposal be accepted, we will be able to return to the Assembly and go ahead with the proceedings.

[Pongwane] Does the voting method still refer to the issue of the Assembly's chairmanship or is that problem now over?

[Domingos] The problem of the Assembly's chairman could be overcome if we had some clear indications as to how voting will be done in the Assembly in the future. If the problem is not resolved in the future, then we will continue not to accept this Assembly chairman, who was elected on an open vote.

[Pongwane] You are scheduled to meet Dr. Eduardo Mulembwe this afternoon, but it is not known yet whether you will return to the Assembly hall after that.

[Domingos] That is quite correct, thank you very much. [end recording]

#### Sale of State-Owned Houses Nets 30 Billion

MB2012091194 Maputo DOMINGO in Portuguese 11 Dec 94 p 12

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A report issued by the central commission of the Administration of State-Owned Buildings says the state has already collected 30 billion meticals from the sale of houses since 1992.

Although the state had decided to sell buildings in October 1992, the first seven applications were not processed until February 1993. The applications were submitted in 1993.

A total of 5,784 applications had been approved as of November 1994. DOMINGO has inquired whether the 30 billion meticals received is from the 5,784 applications.



The minister of construction and water says most of the applicants pay for their houses in installments or rentals, reflecting the low income of most of the tenants. Only 1 percent of applicants have paid for their houses in a lump sum.

Of the 30 million [as published] meticals, 20 percent goes to state coffers, 30 percent for the Housing Development Fund, and 50 percent for eventual indemnities payable to former owners.

The Central Commission forecasts that between 7,500 and 8,000 applications will be processed by the end of 1994, with the state earning 37 million contos. [passage omitted]

**Consumer Trends Under Market Economy Viewed**  
*MB2012113594 Maputo DOMINGO in Portuguese*  
11 Dec 94 p 12

[FBIS Translated Text] Introduced about 13 years ago, the New Supply System (NSA) has showed a decline lately because consumers covered by the system are not interested in collecting their quotas.

A source with the Office for the Organization of Provisioning to Maputo City, Goam, says NSA products are being freely traded, although the distribution program has never been officially abolished.

With the introduction of a market economy, followed by the liberalization of prices, there was competition in the commercial sector.

The source said this enabled commercial establishments to be stocked to the brim with products contemplated by the NSA, though at prices beyond the reach of ordinary citizens. The NSA products are corn, corn flour, rice, cooking oil, sugar, fish, beans, butter, peanuts, soap, pasta, and salt.

As a result of price liberalization, those products became available on the informal market (dumba-nengue) in industrial quantities. Many consumers stopped collecting the quotas to which they were entitled and instead bought their supplies on the informal market.

Ration cards are no longer useful. For instance, in 1981 there were 559 commercial establishments linked to the NSA that served 152,204 families, or 829,338 consumers.

Nine years later (1990), the number of shops dropped to 536, serving 166,980 families, or 985,974 people. That same year, many consumers stopped collecting their ration cards. This means that out of 166,980 cards, 4,429 were not collected. In 1993 the number of shops linked to the NSA dropped to 478, covering 112,392 families, or 692,618 consumers.

Of that number, only 29,871 families collected their cards, representing 180,013 consumers. One could say

that NSA is practically extinct or heading toward extinction, to the benefit of "dumba-nengue" outlets.

## Swaziland

**Country Awaits RSA Response on Disputed Area**  
*MB1912092094 Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER in English*  
19 Dec 94 p 3

[Report by Thulani Mthethwa]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Incorporation Committee is still waiting for a response from the South African Government on Swaziland's claim to the former KaNgwane Homeland.

The historical document which justifies Swaziland's claim was sent to Transitional Executive Council in Pretoria before the national elections in April this year.

The Chairman of the Incorporation Committee, Prince Khuzulwandle said during President Mandela's visit into the country, he stated that the issue of incorporation was one that would need both governments to sit and discuss the issue.

It was not something that could be discussed off hand.

"We are expecting to be summoned to South Africa to discuss the issue after Incwala [blessing of the first fruits ceremony]."

Prince Khuzulwandle said it was the nation's wish that President Nelson Mandela wins elections so that the incorporation issue will be given prominence. However, Eastern Transvaal Premier, Mr Mathews Phosa clearly stated Swaziland should forget about the incorporation of the homeland.

But, Prince Khuzulwandle wondered whether those who have charged that the former homeland did not belong to Swaziland could substantiate their claim. He said some of the land was given to South Africa as a concession for grazing.

## Zambia

**President Chiluba Denies Adulterous Affair**  
*MB1912161394 London BBC World Service in English*  
1800 GMT 19 Dec 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zambia's President Frederick Chiluba has had his back to the wall in the last few days over allegations about his private life and his relationship with his personal secretary. It is the latest in a string of controversies which have soured relations between the MMD [Movement for Multiparty Democracy] government and the press, but now the president has hit back, as Joe Mwinga reports in this fax from Lusaka.

President Chiluba appeared on radio and television last night to deny allegations that he has a mistress. Referring to reports that he was involved in an adulterous affair with his personal secretary, he said that such suggestions were the work of an irresponsible press out to bring him down. Independent papers reported last week that Chiluba, who is a born again Christian, had exchanged blows with his wife Vera over the alleged affair with his secretary Betas Mukoma.

In last night's televised address, President Chiluba challenged the POST newspaper to produce photos of him with the woman. Meanwhile, the biweekly POST has claimed that a police raid on the paper's offices last week was meant to prevent the publication of a compromising photo of the president with his secretary.

President Chiluba also said last night that he had registered a protest with the German Government in Bonn because their ambassador in Zambia had criticized the police raid. Such criticism, said the president, was an infringement of Zambia's sovereignty.

Reports about other Zambian cabinet ministers' extramarital affairs have also been the subject of press speculation and comment.

In a separate development, Zambia's largest opposition party, UNIP [United National Independence Party], has expelled two of its leaders to create room at the top for former President Kenneth Kaunda. Party President Kebby Musokotwane and his deputy Benjamin Mibenge are leaving so that Kaunda can return to active politics. Musokotwane denied that he had been expelled from the leadership because of incompetence, as the UNIP National Council had claimed, but that he was leaving merely to make room for Kaunda.

#### **Musokotwane Refuses To Abdicate UNIP Presidency**

*MB2012080894 London BBC World Service in English  
0600 GMT 20 Dec 94*

[From the "Network Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zambia's opposition UNIP [United National Independence Party] appears embroiled in turmoil over an attempt to sack the party president, Kebby Musokotwane. According to the UNIP National Council, Mr. Musokotwane and his deputy have been sacked for incompetence. UNIP, you may recall, is the party of ex-President Kenneth Kaunda, who is now on a comeback trail, and there are reports suggesting that the current leader of the party is being dumped to clear the way for Dr. Kaunda's return. But as Jim South discovered when he called Mr. Musokotwane in Lusaka, the man who was once vice president to Kenneth Kaunda claims he is still at the helm of affairs for the UNIP party.

[Begin recording] [Musokotwane] I want to say that, for me, it is business as usual. I have been asked to abdicate in deference for Dr. Kaunda. For a number of reasons, I will not.

[South] So, what exactly is the position now, Mr. Musokotwane? Are you still a member of UNIP, and are you still head of UNIP?

[Musokotwane] Yes, I am head of UNIP. I am a member of UNIP, and I will continue to be so until the right procedures are followed. Until democracy in our party is appreciated, we are not going to allow a few people to make short cuts in order to achieve selfish reasons. We simply will not.

[South] So, are you saying that if the proper procedures were followed that you would be prepared to stand down in favor of Dr. Kaunda?

[Musokotwane] No, I am saying that if the procedures are followed, Dr. Kaunda and any other person who wants to challenge me will be free. I will not hand over. I will not abdicate. It is not in the interests of UNIP. It is not in the interests of Zambia. I will not abdicate. When the elections come, if Dr. Kaunda wants to challenge me, he is free like anybody else, like any other people who want to challenge me, like we did in 1992. They will be totally free.

[South] So, what is actually going on in the upper ranks of UNIP now? It seems that you are being fought with by people who would prefer Dr. Kaunda to be in charge of the party. Is that correct?

[Musokotwane] It is correct they want to hound me out, but I will be irresponsible if I agree to be intimidated or hounded out. I will be irresponsible, and I think that history will judge me harshly years from now.

[South] So, if one faction of UNIP is saying that you have been sacked, and you are telling me now that you haven't been sacked, and you are still in charge, who should the public listen to?

[Musokotwane] I think that the (?matter) is the Congress. We will be holding our National Council in the next few days. The National Council will set a date for a Congress. When the Congress meets we will have elections, and whoever wins at that stage, if Dr. Kaunda wins democratically, I will give him my hand or anybody else who challenges me and wins. I will give him my support, if Dr. Kaunda had to come back. He has done his very best, and all he needs to do now is back the young men and women who he has trained over years.

[South] So, I mean, to an outsider, it certainly looks as if Mr. Kaunda's rejoining the political race seems to be having a divisive effect on UNIP, and you seem to be divided, which is not very good for the position, is it?

[Musokotwane] I agree that the participation of Dr. Kaunda in politics should have been to encourage, to strengthen those of the leaders that he left behind and not to divide the party. [end recording]

**Zimbabwe****Drought, Missed Opportunities Harming Economy***MB1912103294 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1004 GMT 19 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Harare Dec 19 SAPA—The possibility of another drought, probably as severe as the one experienced two years ago, has put a damper on the already depressed business optimism in Zimbabwe, ZIANA news agency reported.

The Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries (CZI), the country's largest industrial body, on Monday [19 December] said it had not been a good year for industrialists.

Among other problems were the cost of money, lack of incentives and a host of as-yet unfulfilled promises made by government in January.

CZI chief economist, Joe Foroma, said the lack of decision-making in government frustrated many businessmen, who at times were shunted from office to office, as a result missing valuable business opportunities.

"We have had a lot of problems in industry, and government has, in our view, been either reluctant or unable to do much to help us," Foroma said.

"It is that lack of decisiveness which has contributed to a very large extent to the decline in morale of business people. It seems we pointed out problems with the economy, but no-one was capable of doing a lot about it."

The high cost of money, with interest rates nearly approaching their 1991/92 levels of nearly 39 percent, killed many projects and forced companies to tighten further costs, which in some cases included retrenching staff.

Foroma said although commercial banks had recently shaved off a half percentage point from their minimum lending rates, rates were still too high.

He said industrialists were preparing to start the new year aware that 1995 could be another bruising year, mainly due to the delay to the onset of the rainy season.

He noted any decline in agricultural output would have ripple effects throughout the agro-economy, and depress demand for goods and services as consumers tighten spending.

"We are looking to the sky and hoping against hope that the rains will come. Already, the growing season has been shortened and the potential agricultural output will decrease.

"Therefore, the situation in the agricultural sector is worrying, particularly for processing companies which depend on agricultural products. It becomes difficult to predict the economic outlook for next year," he said.

Industrialists were also not happy government had failed to conclude a favourable bilateral trade pact with South Africa, and introduce new incentives to reward the exporting sector.

Zimbabwe and South Africa were yet to agree on preferential treatment of goods and services, particularly for the textile sector.

**Newspaper Urges Resistance Against White Racism***MB1912161594 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 19 Dec 94 p 5*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Harare—A call was made yesterday for black Zimbabweans to stage peaceful public demonstrations against the existing system which allowed whites to live in comfort while blacks suffered. An advertisement in the national Sunday Mail newspaper, which has been running a crusade against alleged racism, says whites cannot continue to live a peaceful life in the midst of dire poverty and misery. The advertisement was said to have been inserted by numerous indigenous pressure groups.

It claims suggestions have been made to translocate all 80,000 whites to Nigeria, India or Malaysia for a year to learn how to respect the indigenous citizens in the majority. It calls on blacks who feel aggrieved by the existing system to send suggestions to the advertiser at the newspaper's advertisement reply number.

The advertisement states that the economy of Zimbabwe, home to 11 million indigenous people, is controlled and run by a mere 20,000 white people. It claims financial institutions are only interested in looking after the well-being of whites.

It has been suggested, says the advertisement, that all acts of racism and the names of those who practised it should be recorded as such information will be called for soon. "This should apply to racism practised at the workplace, at banks, clubs or anywhere."

The advertisement, occupying half a page of the newspaper, is headed "Zimbabwe's economy at crossroads". It refers to "Uncle Toms and house niggers" who enjoy the crumbs of privilege from whites, but says the day will come when they see the light.



## Cote d'Ivoire

### FPI's Gbagbo Outlines Party Program

AB1612221094 Abidjan LA VOIE in French 16 Dec 94  
p 3

[Article by Robert Krassault: "Laurent Gbagbo says no to illusion sellers"—first paragraph is LA VOIE introduction]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Mr. Laurent Gbagbo has made his stand clear. In firm words, he not only recalled the points on the agenda of the extraordinary congress of the Ivorian Popular Front [FPI] at the Treichville Palais des Sports, but he also strongly condemned the attitude of some activists who believe that the party leadership has deviated from socialism.

After listening to Professor Abel Goumba of the Patriotic Front for Progress from the Central African Republic, Mr. Pedro Pires from the African Party for Independence of Guinean-Bissau and Cape Verde, Morifere Bamba from the Union of Democratic Forces, and Djeny Kobina from the Rally of the Republicans, the arrival of the FPI General Secretary Laurent Gbagbo was welcomed with cheers, drums, and other instruments. The whole stadium went wild. On 15 December at the Treichville Palais des Sports, it was a total festival. [passage omitted]

As far as the significance of this extraordinary congress was concerned and before the policy speech to be made at the beginning of the deliberations, the FPI general secretary took stock of the current situation. For Mr. Gbagbo, the priority struggle waged by his party was first to establish a multiparty system in the country. [passage omitted]

Furthermore, talking about those who are criticizing his party leadership, Mr. Gbagbo was firm and direct: "Some people thought they could take advantage of some lack of clarifications in our statutes to set up little traps here and there in order to perform their various tricks and maneuvers. There will no longer be any room for tricks and maneuvers."

For the FPI general secretary, the party is following the line defined by the Socialist Internationale. And it is in line with this ideal that the FPI will adopt its program of governance, the first articles of which were written in 1984. As in all political struggles, ideological battles had already begun at that time. If some demanded total nationalization of parastatals, others like Mr. Laurent Gbagbo, found this a bit obsolete. Because "nationalization was a thing of the past. The concept had lived its life span. A modern state could no longer put the topic of nationalization on its agenda. When one is fighting for the people, when one is fighting for the workers, the problem today is to find a right policy from which workers could benefit the most."

That is why he advocates a market economy in which the role of the state would be limited to the monitoring of the

rules of that market "in order for the weakest not to be crushed by the strongest." These are the main points of the program of governance of the Ivorian Popular Front and that the leadership of the party intends to propose to the participants during the congress and who will decide whether to adopt them or not. For Mr. Laurent Gbagbo, "the issues should be discussed. Yes, discussions should be held. When you have a point to make, you should agree to debate it. When one knows about the deficit of Cote d'Ivoire and that we have to pay 400 billion CFA francs per annum to reimburse our debts and when one is unable to pay, one cannot put nationalization on one's agenda."

Mr. Gbagbo concluded by telling his party activists that "when the FPI achieves power, we should make sure we do not become illusion sellers." To those who criticize his party, Mr. Gbagbo said: "If some people believe that they can place themselves to the left of the FPI to achieve power, I kindly ask them to form a party and to do so. I am not here to lead a study circle but a political party." Talking about the creation of a republican front, the general secretary said this a logical follow-up of the party manifesto and the program of governance that the FPI proposes. According to Mr. Gbagbo, it is practically impossible for a party to go alone to the polls in Cote d'Ivoire and to win. [passage omitted]

Mr. Gbagbo said that the mission assigned to the left can be summed up as follows:

1. To democratize the country.
2. To modernize thought—through television, radio, newspapers, etc...
3. To modernize the structures of the command economy by giving breathing space to the economy, revamping the networks, and holding talks with financial backers, etc...
4. To put in place a social solidarity policy.

And it is this role that the Ivorian Popular Front is willing to play under the leadership of Mr. Laurent Gbagbo.

## Liberia

### Talks To Continue Between Government, Factions

AB1712164094 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 1400  
GMT 17 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Liberia National Transitional Government [LNTG] has been invited to Accra, Ghana, for the continuation of peace talks in Liberia scheduled for Monday, 19 December. Leaders of warring factions, the Liberian National Conference, and some prominent Liberians are also invited to the talks. The chairman of the Council of State, His Excellency David Kpomakpor, is calling on all parties to make the necessary sacrifice to ensure that the talks succeed and that lasting peace is restored to Liberia.

The international community has been applying pressure to ensure that this last round of talks is to endure. U.S. State Department officials for West African Affairs, Mr. Ben Smith, and Ghanaian Deputy Foreign Minister Mohamed ibn Chambas, lately talked of the pullout of ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] from Liberia if the parties failed to agree upon a final settlement of the conflict. Chairman Kpomakpor has also warned of Liberia being abandoned by the international community if factions and politicians could not commit themselves to a final settlement of the conflict. He reminded Liberians of the situation in Somalia and Bosnia where the United Nations is already speaking of pulling out because of the failure of the parties there to agree to a peaceful settlement of their crisis.

#### **Government Condemns Attacks on ECOMOG**

*AB1712170094 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 1400 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Liberian National Transitional Government has condemned attacks on the positions of ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] at 15th Gate in the Harbel area. Such attacks, the government said, at a time when efforts are being made to put the peace process on course, must be condemned by all peace-loving Liberians everywhere.

According to the government, the act has the tendency of plunging the nation into more chaos thus eroding the peace process spearheaded by the chairman of ECOWAS, His Excellency Jerry John Rawlings of Ghana, backed by the international community. The government is, therefore, calling for the cessation of such activities against the peacekeepers.

The government's statement was contained in a radio statement in Monrovia yesterday. The government said it has greatest confidence in ECOMOG in restoring peace and security to Liberia and has saluted ECOMOG for their dedication and commitment to the search for peace in Liberia and urged them to remain steadfast in this noble undertaking of African solidarity.

The Government of Liberia has in the meantime communicated with the leaders of the subregion on the need for the region to [words indistinct] all armed factions to guarantee the safety of our people and to prevent the recurrence of the incident. In the meantime the government has announced that it fully endorses ECOMOG's declaration of peace making all areas under its control [word indistinct] free of arms.

#### **LNTG Condemns Paynesville Massacre**

*AB1712162594 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 1400 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Liberia National Transitional Government [LNTG] has condemned the massacre of nearly 60 Liberians, including women and

children, at (Carfee, Dubord Road) in Paynesville. The government described the massacre as a wanton act of savagery against innocent unarmed citizens by unknown armed men. The government has urged ECOMOG [Economic Community of West Africa Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] and the security forces to leave no stone unturned to bring the perpetrators to justice. The security forces have been put on full alert and community security [words indistinct] (?have been urged) to step up security measures.

#### **NPFL Denies Massacre Charge**

*AB1612202994 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The NPFL's [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] legal adviser, (Francis Kalawolu), is in Monrovia on his way to the peace negotiations in Accra. Robin White asked him how he reacted to the suggestions that the NPFL was involved in the Paynesville massacre:

[Begin recording] [(Kalawolu)] NPFL was not involved in the massacre. There is clear evidence that NPFL is not involved. For instance, there was a screening of the videotape of the whole incident and it was established that some of the people were seen speaking Krahn, so everybody knows that NPFL is not the one.

[White] Are you saying that nobody in your organization speaks Krahn?

[(Kalawolu)] Oh no, I am not saying this, but I am saying that under the circumstances it could not have been possible and so we are not the one, and they are aware of the fact we are not the one.

[White] Why does the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West Africa States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] field commander, Mr. Inienger, why does he think it was the NPFL?

[(Kalawolu)] No, he's not even saying that, he is saying that NPFL attacked their position in Firestone.

[White] I understand that he is saying that he thinks that it is NPFL who was responsible for the killing in Paynesville.

[(Kalawolu)] No, it is not so. Even people in Monrovia are cognizant of the fact that it is not possible from the circumstances that NPFL could have perpetrated the act and they have said that, in fact, over the national radio here it is stated clearly that unknown gunmen perpetrated the crime.

[White] So who do you think was responsible?

[(Kalawolu)] Well, I don't know. They are still investigating, they are still investigating but we believe or many people believe that this type of thing was orchestrated by

the politicians so as to thwart the peace process, the ongoing peace talks because they see that they would be at a loss.

[White] Now, I understand that you yourself were planning to leave today to go to Accra for more peace talks but had been stopped from going?

[(Kalawolu)] Yes, of course, I was on my way... [pauses] The minister of justice and the bureau of immigration as well as the police sent almost 35 armed police officers and I was physically stopped at the airport and I got the boarding pass and all, and they stopped me from moving. And I believe this is not in the interest of peace. Now that the Liberian people are craving and yearning for peace, it is improper for somebody to use illegitimate and illegal force.

[White] So you were trying to get on a plane to go to Accra and they stopped you?

[(Kalawolu)] They stopped me, they stopped me, and I am thinking of filing the necessary legal action against them and this is against our law, it is repugnant to the constitution of Liberia, so I am taking also recourse to this remedy at law. [end recording]

#### Suspects Arrested

AB1812200594 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 18 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The shadow of last Wednesday's [14 December] massacre in Paynesville, a suburb of the Liberian capital Monrovia, still hangs over the city. Nearly 50 people were killed by marauding gunmen. Today, church services in commemoration have been held in Monrovia. Initially, the finger was pointed at Charles Taylor's NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] movement. Taylor vigorously denied it. The security forces have been investigating. Now, they have announced some arrests. From Monrovia, Nyenati Allison telexed this report.

Police sources here say nine junior AFL [Armed Forces of Liberia] officers have been arrested for their role in the Paynesville massacre. The suspects were picked up later on Friday [16 December] from the Barclay Training Center, an AFL barracks in Monrovia. The AFL arrests followed revelations by survivors of the Paynesville massacre that their attackers spoke Krahn during the attack. Police say the nine suspects have been taken in for further questioning. Initially, the African peace-keeping force blamed Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front. Survivors reports tell a different story. (Amos Juine) speaking from his hospital bed, recovering from bullet wounds in the shoulder, said he heard his attackers speaking Krahn and chanting no Julue, no Monrovia.

It was a clear reference to Charles Julue, the former AFL general in the days of Doe, who is currently being held on sedition charges following an abortive coup attempt last September. (Amos Juine) continued: We could not see

their faces. Some people screamed for mercy but the attackers were there to kill. As he spoke, a fellow survivor, six-years-old (Niyeceni Brownell) struggled in pain in a nearby bed. Meanwhile, community watch teams were said to have arrested people suspected of being involved in plots to destabilize Monrovia. One group of young men and women were caught with hand grenades and a man with a bag of rifles in the (Garnaysville) suburb was apprehended. Today, heavily armed peacekeeping troops backed up by tanks sealed off the centennial pavilion where a memorial service was being held for victims of Paynesville.

#### Civilians Demonstrate 'Hostility' for Factions

AB1912170094 London BBC World Service in English  
1515 GMT 19 Dec 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] There have been more street protests in Liberia today in the wake of last Thursday's [15 December] massacre in Paynesville, in which nearly 50 people were killed. Most of the victims were women and children and initially the finger was pointed at Charles Taylor's NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] faction, but over the weekend a group of junior officers from the Armed Forces of Liberia were arrested by the police, and today there was a public show of hostility toward all the armed factions as Nyenati Allison reports in this telex from Monrovia.

The demonstration, organized by local community groups, began at Paynesville. As the crowd advanced toward Monrovia Airport, their number was increased by passersby. The demonstrators waved palm fronds, shouting: We want peace, no more war. Normal traffic was disrupted as vehicles heading for Paynesville were turned back by the crowd. One demonstrator shouted at a reporter attempting to drive through: Turn that car back or we will smash your windshield. Classes were interrupted at the Zion Community College and at a high school in Congo Town. Demonstrators invaded the campuses, shouting: Join us, no school until the murderers are caught.

The demonstrators eventually converged on the airport. Their spokesman, Randolph Jones, said that they were there to warn Liberian warlords and politicians going to peace talks in Ghana that they will only be allowed to return and land at the airport when they reach agreement to end the war. We are tired of bloodletting, said Mr. Jones. They are riding in plush cars and sleeping well, and we, the unarmed civilians, are suffering.

#### Nigerian Plane Delivers ECOMOG Weapons

AB1912181494 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 19 Dec 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]



[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] [passage omitted] Meanwhile, the African peacekeeping force today ferried in a huge consignment of weapons to step up their capabilities in the capital. The weapons arrived here this afternoon aboard a Nigerian plane. Recently ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] began to scale down their presence in the country, blaming it on economic constraints, but a Nigerian officer said today: We will not sit idly by while warlords attempt to destabilize Monrovia.

### Journalists Interview NPFL Leader Taylor

AB1912094594 Abidjan IVOIR'SOIR in French 15 Dec 94 pp 6-7

[Interview with Charles Taylor, leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, NPFL, by IVOIR'SOIR journalists Mognon Abiali and Nazaire Breka in Ganta, Liberia; date not given—first four paragraphs IVOIR'SOIR introduction]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We are in Ganta, Charles Taylor's headquarters since Gbarnga was attacked and looted. A car with three seats available on board, one of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL]'s large stock of vehicles, was put at our disposal. At 0930 we steered for the heart of guerrilla territory. This was a leap into the unknown that took us to Ganta after we had crossed 21 roadblocks, each manned by Charles Taylor's soldiers, who were armed to the teeth. At each roadblock our guide had to stop to inform these soldiers of our trip. At about 1530, we reached Ganta, a district which is part of the Samniquellie Territory, located about 200 km (on tarred roads) from Monrovia.

In Ganta, as in many Liberian towns and villages, life is at a standstill. Shops and stores have been closed for ages. Gas stations are no longer in business, although notices are displayed. Owing to a lack of fuel, there is no electric power either. It was in this gloomy atmosphere that Charles Taylor, very relaxed, received us with the reassurance: "Ivoryans are my brothers. So, feel at home."

The attack on the Gbarnga headquarters by the rebels of the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia [ULIMO] dealt a decisive blow to the NPFL, which was somehow halted in its forward march toward reconquering territory that it had lost after the first years of fighting. Nevertheless, Charles Taylor still wears a cheerful face and exudes real optimism. "Sorry, I like receiving my guests in plain clothes, but after the attack on Gbarnga, you do understand me if I am in this attire."

Dressed in blue military fatigues, boots, and a red beret, Charles Taylor, cool and collected, still has the look of a bush fighter, as well as the self-esteem of the commander of the NPFL armed forces. Even though old age has crept up on him, the charismatic NPFL leader continues to give people the dream of his "revolution." He tells everyone that he is not yet at the end of his tether. However, his salt and pepper beard gives anyone who has recently rubbed

shoulders with him the impression that he is tired of the war, and that his concern now may be summed up in these few words: "Liberia will not be Nigeria's brothel... I want peace now." Peace? Yes. To save Liberia. The country is on the verge of foundering. The fatherland of the first free blacks has gone to wrack and ruin, and the war has not helped matters. Taylor now must negotiate with the other rival factions, and that is what currently busies "President" Taylor. He periodically convenes his ministers to examine all problems and to propose solutions to the conflict. But peace must be on one condition, only one: "The presidency of the Council of State must go to the NPFL, because it is the most important organization. No more, no less!

[IVOIR'SOIR] Mr. Taylor, are you a military leader or a faction leader fighting for power?

[Taylor] Well, I am not a military leader. I am not even a soldier. I am the leader of the NPFL and I have been acting in that capacity since 1990.

[IVOIR'SOIR] What is the situation on the ground today as far as the fighting is concerned?

[Taylor] During my trip to Akosombo, several groups, with the help of the Nigerian contingent of the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group [ECOMOG], occupied my headquarters. The Liberian Peace Council [LPC], ULIMO, and the Nigerian contingents caused great havoc in my camp. But since I am committed to peace in Liberia, I did not want to answer their aggression. After my return, I simply tried to regain control of my headquarters.

I have faith in the document we signed at Akosombo. I hope the signing of this document will bring peace to Liberia.

[IVOIR'SOIR] And what exactly does the Akosombo Accord say?

[Taylor] First, a government has to be set up. But what seems to me the most important thing in the Akosombo Accord is that it was the first time that the three main rival factions in the Liberian conflict sat down at the same negotiating table to sign a joint document aimed at restoring peace to Liberia.

Before then, it had been a matter between Amos Sawyer's interim government, ULIMO, and the NPFL, excluding the AFL. Today, however, it is the three warring factions that have signed the document. That is a positive sign, because if these three factions say they no longer want any war, the fighting will surely be over in Liberia.

I would also like to appeal to Liberian politicians to exercise patience. Some of them want to return home, even though the negotiations have not yet ended. It would be better for them to wait for the peace accord finally to be signed, and for the warring factions to be disarmed completely before they return to Liberia.

As long as this has not been done, with a government put in place, it is not possible for the politicians to come back here.

That is the reason why the new Council of State planned to be put in place could succeed if it is made up of the three warring factions. It is quite reasonable that these factions which armed the young men are the only ones that can disarm them. Therefore, another politician should not be brought into these negotiations. That would not work.

[IVOIR'SOIR] As the leader of the NPFL, what solution do you propose to end the war in Liberia?

[Taylor] We should first comply with and implement the Akosombo Accord, which is not new as such. It is an amended Cotonou Accord. It is true that at the time we gave the transition government six months to implement the accord, and we have to reckon that this has not been achieved and that the deadline given to the transition government has expired.

For us, the mission of the government formed after the Cotonou Accord was signed is now over. A new government was needed or new directives should have been given to the old team—in other words, they should have been given a new mandate. This is what the Akosombo Accord refused to do.

[IVOIR'SOIR] What portofolio would you like to hold if a new government were to be formed?

[Taylor] Right now the solution to the Liberian crisis does not depend on Charles Taylor alone. It is also in the hands of the NPFL and the other factions—with this difference—we have the majority in the field. Without the aid ECOMOG gives to the other factions, we would be the most powerful faction in Liberia. We have survived two governments. The first one was led by Amos Sawyer, and the second by David Kpomakpor, who were both from the same side. It is about time the NPFL tries its hand at this as well. I am ready to head the Council of State to bring peace back to Liberia. I believe—modesty put aside—that I am the only one capable of bringing peace to Liberia, especially because everyone else who has tried has failed.

If things depended on me alone, I would have asked to wait for elections. But this is no secret. The Liberian people have been suffering for five years. They need the peace and stability that I alone could bring to them. Because nobody else has the required force and authority. This is the truth in the field. That is why I am saying that I am the only one capable of bringing peace to Liberia.

[IVOIR'SOIR] Do you have any contacts with the other warring factions in Liberia?

[Taylor] I have regular contacts with the leaders of the other factions. I had a telephone conversation a few days ago with Alhaji Koromah. I pay visits to some of them; others come to see me. You should know that apart from

a handful of politicians living in Monrovia who have monopolized the state media, all the Liberian people know that the only person capable of bringing peace to Liberia is Charles Taylor and the NPFL.

[IVOIR'SOIR] It happened that you yourself were absent from Liberia at a time. Any explanation to that?

[Taylor] The NPFL is not Charles Taylor. It is an organization. At the time, I sent a powerful delegation to Accra, and we kept in regular telephone contact. If people demand that I be present to sign some documents, this is evidence that people have great consideration for my person. All this to say that I am not the NPFL. I am a member of the organization like anyone else. But I would like to add something that is dear to my heart. Nigeria is responsible for the collapse of the Accra talks, because Nigeria continues to assist one of the Liberian warlords. Nigeria treats Liberia like it were part of its territory, as if it were not a sovereign state. Otherwise, the negotiations would not have collapsed. We shall never allow anyone to decide what our country's destiny should be, and this should be clear to everyone.

[IVOIR'SOIR] What actually is the impact of the embargo on the lives of the people?

[Taylor] The embargo weighs heavily on the people. People are dying of cholera at the moment. We no longer have food because it is difficult for us to negotiate with Cote d'Ivoire to secure food items. It is not at all easy to go to Danane, Man, or even Abidjan to procure supplies. As I speak to you, only a single UN helicopter has arrived in our counter to deal with the raging cholera epidemic.

For this reason, I would like to take advantage of your medium to make an appeal to the Ivorian Government, urging it to continue to give us humanitarian aid. We need such aid. We therefore call on the Ivorian authorities to facilitate our access to their markets so that we can purchase drugs and food for our men.

[IVOIR'SOIR] Could you mention the localities affected by the cholera outbreak?

[Taylor] You have Nimba County, for instance, where the UN helicopter is as we speak.

But the point I would like to stress is the need for us to be able to receive humanitarian assistance from our Ivorian brothers. It is quite nice to see the aircraft of Western countries coming with aid to our various counties but that is just good for their own advertisement.

My wish is that President Bedie facilitate our access to essential items on Ivorian soil. We sincerely beg him to do so.

[IVOIR'SOIR] Has this disease claimed lives already?

[Taylor] About 10 people die daily. I would like to recall once more that President Bedie has never banned our access to humanitarian assistance, nor the transit of such assistance through his territory.



What we however mean to say is that he should not allow himself to be discouraged by the vile propaganda of those who claim that humanitarian convoys passing through or originating from Cote d'Ivoire are weapons convoys. Those who say these things are our enemies. This is why I beg President Bedie not to close the Ivorian borders to us.

[IVOIR'SOIR] Since you are talking about President Bedie, could we know what type of relationship you maintain with him as successor to the late President Houphouet-Boigny?

[Taylor] President Houphouet-Boigny was for me a father. I did not deal with him simply in his capacity as president, but as president and father. Ivorians are our brothers. We share a common border with Cote d'Ivoire. The late Presidents Tubman and Houphouet-Boigny served their respective countries and Africa as brothers. For me, therefore, President Bedie is a brother and a friend because he is Ivorian and president.

For us Liberians, since he is walking in the steps of President Houphouet-Boigny, President Bedie is useful, not only to Cote d'Ivoire, but also to Liberia, West Africa, and Africa as a whole. [passage omitted]

## Nigeria

### Troops Not To Withdraw From Bakassi

AB1912140294 Paris AFP in English 1426 GMT 18 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Lagos, Dec 18 (AFP)—Nigerian troops sent to the oil-rich Bakassi Peninsula would not be withdrawn until the dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon over ownership of the territory was resolved, a military official here said Sunday [18 December].

"Pulling out now is not the issue. The issue is that those who are exploiting the place should leave the place", the spokesman of the defence ministry, Brigadier-General Fred Chijuka, said in a live national television interview.

Since the beginning of the year, Nigeria and Cameroon have been locked in a military stand-off over the disputed ownership of the 1,000 square-kilometre (400 square-mile) peninsula in the Gulf of Guinea, rich in oil and fish.

Each of the two nations, while seeking a negotiated solution, has deployed troops to its side of the disputed territory.

"We believe that Bakassi is part and parcel of Nigeria. Before this time, we have not given it the protective position it deserved because we were feeling that we have good neighbours (...) who should benefit from what we have in the area", said Chijuka in a clear reference to Cameroon on Nigeria's eastern border.

"But when we discovered that they were trying to be very uncharitable, we decided to claim what is our right", added the General.

Cameroon has filed a claim to ownership of the peninsula with the World Court at The Hague, the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

In response, Nigeria has set up a committee, made up of eminent jurists, to prepare its defence.

A fortnight ago in Abuja, Nigeria's military ruler General Sani Abacha commended Cameroonian President Paul Biya for his "positive response" to Nigeria's initiatives in preventing what he described as "a deterioration of the situation on the ground".

### Opposition Leader Released After Mediation

AB1912083594 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 18 Dec 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] One of Nigeria's oldest statesmen will be able to spend Christmas at home. Chief Anthony Enahoro, 71-year-old former government minister, has been in jail for the past four months. He was picked up in a roundup of leaders of the pro-democracy National Democratic Convention, NADECO, which opposes the military regime of General Sani Abacha. Chief Enahoro is not a well man, and many prominent Nigerians had been pressing for his release, among them former head of state, General Yakubu Gowon. Well, Chief Enahoro has now been let out. Gen. Gowon has just got back to London from Nigeria, and Josephine Hazely asked him how Chief Enahoro came to be freed:

[Begin recording] [Gowon] The government gave the go-ahead for his release, after our request to see him, and he finally was released on Friday morning [16 December], and by early Friday afternoon we took him from Port Harcourt and drove to Benin and made sure that he was safely at his house. Luckily enough his wife was visiting him that morning and, at least, she was able to accompany him back in the home. By Friday afternoon he was safely home.

[Hazely] Now, how is his health? Because we understand that he was not feeling very well.

[Gowon] Please do remember that the chief is in his seventies and that at that age I think all old people will tell you that the bones... [pauses] the joints are bound to be creaky and you may not feel not absolutely 100 percent. He looked quite well, quite healthy. Certainly he is very alert—he is as witty as ever—honestly, he is quite all right. You don't see him being either too frail or too ill. Not at all, not that I remember.

[Hazely] Now, when you spoke to him as you just said, what did you talk about? Did he tell you about his time in detention at all?

[Gowon] To me, honestly, I am not going to.... [pauses; laughter] Really, that is not important. The important thing is that we were able to meet, we were able to discuss, and in the end his release was authorized unconditionally



and we were able to take him back home. Is that not enough? Do we have to go into the nitty gritty details? You know that I won't be able to give you that. [laughter]

[Hazely] Did he say or did you have the impression that he was going to still continue his work in the pro-democracy movement?

[Gowon] You know that is not our interest. Ours is a non-political exercise on a humanitarian level. Considering the chief's age and the chief's position and his role in the past, what he has done for the country—which I can assure you, even the present government, you know, appreciates—on that ground, I think his release was considered and done, not from any political basis, whether it is pro-democracy or what.

[Hazely] Would you use your same powers of persuasion to get Gen. Abacha to release Chief Abiola?

[Gowon] What I did on this particular occasion, we were lucky that we have done it. Circumstances differ from one case to the other. [end recording]

### **Oil Pipelines Reportedly Sabotaged**

*AB1912194394 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 19 Dec 94*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Fuel supplies in Nigeria have been hit again. Earlier this year, shortages caused by refinery breakdowns became critical after oil workers went on strike for three months in protest against the military government and its handling of the economy, and now petrol supplies have been disrupted by a sabotage attack on an installation in the oil-producing area of southeastern Nigeria. From Lagos, Sola Odunfa reports.

[Begin Odunfa recording] Unknown persons at the weekend cut crude oil pipelines in an oilfield operated by Shell Petroleum Development Company in Delta State in southern Nigeria, resulting in oil spillage over a vast area of farmlands. The pipelines carried crude oil from two (?float) stations in Bomadi, which pump about 60,000 barrels of oil daily. The (?float) stations have now been shut down to stop the spillage.

A senior official of Shell quoted in the government-owned newspaper, DAILY TIMES, said today that the company's preliminary investigations showed clearly that the damage to the pipelines was an act of sabotage. He said that the coatings on the pipes were removed and the pipes cut with handsaws. The company's findings were said to have been corroborated by the chairman of the Bomadi community. The spillage destroyed food crops and economic trees in the area. The Shell spokesman said also that Nigeria lost millions of dollars in export earnings from the spilled crude.

Police are investigating the incident. No arrests have been announced yet. Armed government security men have been guarding oil pipelines and other strategic oil installations in the past two years as a result of agitations in the communities of oil-producing areas for a larger share of oil export earnings. The weekend's spillage came on the heels of three fire incidents at petrol depots in Enugu and Benin in the past 10 days. The damage to the depots has led to the disruption of the distribution of petrol and kerosene nationwide. There is now a shortage of the fuel in all parts of the country. Long queues of vehicles started forming at filling stations in Lagos this morning. Reports say that the situation is worse in eastern and northern Nigeria, where there has been acute shortage for over a week. [end recording]

### **Minister Says No Oil Price Increase Planned**

*AB1712200594 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in  
English 0600 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The minister of petroleum and mineral resources, Chief Don Etiebet, says the current prices of petroleum products have taken care of the cost of refining the products. At a news conference in Lagos today, Chief Etiebet said the government was therefore not contemplating an increase to the prices of petroleum products. He was refuting a newspaper report today that prices of petroleum products will soon go up. The minister said the newspaper misrepresented his address yesterday at the workshop on the economic revival action plan.

[Begin Etiebet recording] The background for my statement yesterday was based on the seminar on the economic revival plan to seek alternative sources of revenue, particularly foreign revenue, for this country. It was in that regard that I told the audience that the cost of crude oil production nowadays is rising while the cost of crude oil itself is falling and this is why the margin available to government now is getting narrower and narrower and, therefore, our foreign exchange earnings will be going down and down, and unless concerted efforts are made to diversify sources of foreign exchange revenue, the country will be in for a hard time in future. That's what I said and I repeat that because that is a fact. Some of the companies in this country are producing crude oil at quite over and above \$10 a barrel. In fact, one of them are producing at about \$14 a barrel. That has no relationship whatsoever with the cost of refined petroleum products marketed in this country. All along petroleum products prices have been controlled in this country and it is only the government that can set these prices. This year the head of state set the prices that are reigning right now. These prices are what are being used to prepare this year's budget that will operate the whole of next year. [end recording]

Chief Etiebet urged petroleum marketers to ignore the newspaper reports and not to engage in hoarding petroleum products. He again called on the mass media to be careful and avoid acts that could incite the people against the government.

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